Making Siena: Art and State Formation, 1404 – 1487

By

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Abstract

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This study examines the fifteenth-century urban renewal of Siena, Italy by engaging with the recent work of art historians who have approached the built environment not as a static background but as a medium that actively shaped the meaning and experience of urban life. The cityscape has begun to be understood as a dynamic system of relations rather than as a static image. Still, questions surrounding the role played by the visual arts within such a system remain barely charted territory. Taking these developments as a point of departure, this dissertation addresses the use of public art to shape the distinctive character of Siena's revamped topography. The project also draws upon previous studies dealing with questions surrounding spatial praxis and the production of ritualized space. More broadly it brings an art historical perspective to bear on urban renewal projects, allowing for an improved understanding of how images established connections between different sites, defined space, and shaped conceptions of civic identity. In this way it contributes to the broader literature on urbanization and state formation during the late medieval period.

The dissertation takes the form of four case studies. The first chapter, "Hydrosolidarity," characterizes the development of Siena's water supply network as an explicit manifestation of the centralizing tendencies of state formation. In the second chapter, "Scopic Form," I explore the roles played by public works of art in the production of surveilled spaces throughout the city. The third chapter, "Real Presence," examines Bernardino of Siena's creation of a trigram inscribed with the letters YHS, an abbreviation of the Holy Name of Jesus, in relation to the Franciscan friar's theorization of the trigram in Eucharistic terms. In the final chapter,

"Vecchiezza," I situate the transformation of images of local saints as integral components in the fashioning of a civic identity for Siena as a gerontocracy.

This study proposes new ways of thinking about the productive capacities of art in the processes of state formation. It considers the political potential of art making less from the perspective of how the state can be "symbolized" or "represented," and more in terms of how it might function as a ritualistic practice of bringing forth.

Advisor: Dr. Stephen J. Campbell

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Introduction

Observing the murals painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti from 1338 – 1339 in the Sala della Pace of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico (Fig. 1), the philosopher and sociologist Bruno Latour was struck by how the paintings revealed an "ecology" of government:

> What is most striking for a contemporary eye is the massive presence of cities, landscapes, animals, merchants, dancers, and the ubiquitous rendering of light and space. The Bad Government is not simply illustrated by the devilish figure of Discordia but also through the dark light, the destroyed city, the ravaged landscape and the suffocating people. The Good Government is not simply personified by the various emblems of Virtue and Concordia but also through the transparency of light, its well-kept architecture, its well-tended landscape, its diversity of animals, the ease of its commercial relations, its thriving arts. Far from being simply a *décor* for the emblems, the fresco requests us to become attentive to a subtle ecology of Good and Bad Government.[1]

In this passage Latour was pushing back against the tendency to envision the state as an ideal that is only ever "represented" or "symbolized." This was the position taken by the political theorist Michael Walzer, who claimed that "In a sense, the union of men can only be symbolized, it has no palpable shape or substance. The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived."[2] Building upon Walzer's claims, the art historian Adrian Randolph transferred these principles to his analysis of the visual arts in fifteenth-century Florence by arguing that "if the state is rendered visible when personified, symbolized, and imagined, the visual arts have proved to be the most effective means of achieving this political visibility."[3] Elsewhere Randolph was even more explicit in his indebtedness to the political theorist: "Following Walzer, I would like to adopt a pragmatic

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[1] Bruno Latour, "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public," in Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel eds., *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*. Karlsruhe, Germany: ZKM/Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe; Cambridge, Mass., 2005, 6 – 7.
[2] Michael Walzer, "On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought." *Political Science Quarterly* 82.2 (1967), 194.
[3] Adrian W. B. Randolph, "Introduction: Florence, Inc.," in *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, 2.

definition of the term "state," and see it as an ideal, rather than a real, institutional, geographical, or social construction."[4]

In this dissertation I will explore an alternative to the symbolic model of state formation as proposed by scholars such as Walzer and Randolph, one that seeks to specifically address some of its constructed aspects. Walzer published his essay in 1967, and today the concept of the state as something that could only ever be symbolized appears overly optimistic. We live in an era characterized by the very real threats posed by ongoing state sanctioned violence, nuclear weapons proliferation, environmental degradation, income inequality, institutionalized racism and sexism, and eroding labor rights. In terms of art historical methodology, to approach the work of art primarily through what it "represents" or "symbolizes" does not acknowledge some of the other ways in which the tangible properties of an art object might contribute to state formation.

My project sets out to examine the fifteenth-century urban renewal of Siena following the restoration of the Republic in 1404 after a decade of foreign rule. It is an undertaking inspired by the recent work of art historians, architectural historians, and urbanists who have approached the built environment not as a background for the unfolding of civic life but as a medium that actively gives urban experience form and shapes its meaning.[5] The cityscape has begun to be

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[4] Randolph, "Introduction: Florence, Inc.," 5.

[5] See Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006; Robert Maxwell, *The Art of Medieval Urbanism: Parthenay in Romanesque Aquitaine*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007; Michael Cole, "Perpetual Exorcism in Sistine Rome," in Michael Cole and Rebecca Zorach eds., *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions, and the Early Modern World.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009, 57 – 76; Jaś Elsner, "Image and Site: Castiglione Olona in the Early Fifteenth Century." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*.57 (2010): 156-73; Caroline Goodson, Anne Lester, and Carol Symes, eds., *Cities, Texts And Social Networks 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010; Michael Cole, "Sculpture in the City," in *Ambitious Form: Giambologna, Ammanati, and Danti in Florence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, 244

understood as a dynamic system of relations rather than a static image. Yet the role played by the visual arts within such a system remains barely charted territory.[6] Taking these developments as a point of departure, this dissertation addresses the function of public works of art in shaping the distinctive character of Siena's revamped topography. The project also draws upon previous studies dealing with questions surrounding spatial praxis and the production of ritualized space.[7] More broadly it brings an art historical perspective to bear on urban renewal projects, allowing for an improved understanding of how images established connections between different sites, defined space, and shaped conceptions of civic identity. In this way it contributes to the broader literature on urbanization and state formation during the late medieval period.

– 282; Meredith Cohen and Fanny Madeline, eds., *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories, and Imagined Geographies.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2014; and Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016.

[6] Jaś Elsner has noted that the way that images may be used to construct the distinctive nature of a site is "an arena of iconography that has generally been underplayed by an art historical literature more concerned with meanings and specific intimations of particular iconographic themes that with the ways those themes are deployed to define space." See Elsner, "Image and Site," 156 – 73.

[7] On medieval spatial practices see Barbara Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka, eds., *Medieval Practices of Space*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000; Peter Arnade, Martha C. Howell, and Walter Simons, "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32.4 (2002): 549-69; and Albrecht Classen, ed., *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009. On spatial practices in general see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell, 1991. On ritual practices of space see Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987; Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner: The Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities," in Steven Ozment ed., *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation.* Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989, 25 – 42; Philippa Jackson and Fabrizio Nevola eds., *Beyond the Palio: Urbanism and Ritual in Renaissance Siena*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006; and Richard Trexler, "Approaching the City: Dynamism and Stasis in Ritual Studies," in *La ville à la Renaissance: Espaces, Représentations, Pouvoirs: Actes*. Paris: H. Champion, 2008, 47 – 58. On ritual in general see Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*. Paris, 1909; Emile Durkheim, *Les forms élémentaire de la vie religious*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1912; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti- Structure*. London: Transaction Publishers, 1969; Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretations of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973; Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence.* New York: Academic Press, 1980; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981; Ronald F.E. Weisman, *Ritual brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1982; and Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Making Siena

"A city," proclaimed Isidore of Seville, "is a number of men joined by a social bond. It takes its name from the citizens who dwell in it. As an urbs it is only a walled structure, but inhabitants, not building stones, are referred to as a city."[8] For the early Church Father, then, the city was comprised of two distinct but closely related elements: the built environment (*urbs*), and the collective body of the citizenry who live amongst the structures set within the city walls (*civitas*). According to Isidore's definition these two components were interdependent. Without the citizenry the physical fabric of a city is little more than an empty husk, and without protective walls and buildings—without a geographically and topographically specific place in which to dwell—a citizenry cannot exist.

This notion of the city as a community that is inextricably bound to the built environment provides fertile ground for the art historian interested in exploring the myriad relationships between art and state formation. Lorenzetti's paintings in the Sala della Pace suggest a conception of the state as just such a community. Yet modern authors have often referred to the images on the east and west walls as allegories of the "effects" of good and bad government.[9] Others have repeatedly interpreted Lorenzetti's murals as representing various political

[8] "Civitas est hominum multitude societatis vinculo adunata, dicta a civibus, id est ab ipsis incolis Urbis, nam urbs ipsa moenia sunt, civitas autem non saxa sed abitatores vocantur." Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri* 15.2.I. W. Lindsay ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911, as cited in Chiara Frugoni, *Una Lontana Città: sentimenti e immagini nel Medioevo.* Turin: Einaudi, 1983, 3, n. 1. The English translation is from Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*. William McCuaig trans. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991, 3, n.1.

[9] See for example Hayden B. J. Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001, 25, Michael Stanton, "The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: The Urbanism of Good and Bad Intentions." *Perspecta* 33 (2002): 104, and Dennis Romano, "A Depiction of Male Same-Sex Seduction in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's "Effects of Bad Government" Fresco." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 21.1 (2012): 1-15.

ideologies.[10] Yet despite the relatively recent tendency to impose complex political meanings upon the paintings, for late-medieval viewers the images were most often understood as depicting states of being. Their earliest recorded description appears in an account written around 1350 by an anonymous Sienese chronicler who described them simply as "Peace" (*Pace*) and "War" (*Guerra*).[11] In fact, these were the titles used to describe the murals in all known accounts written prior to the eighteenth century.[12] In the spring of 1425 the Franciscan preacher Bernardino degli Albizzeschi mentioned the paintings while preaching upon the need to preserve civic peace.[13] His ekphrasis is recorded in a sermon titled "On the concord and unity that we

[10] For Nicolai Rubinstein the images were a "complex philosophical allegory" of Aristotelian political theory. Nicolai Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21.3 (1958): 179 – 207. Quentin Skinner saw the cycle as an expression of the "pre-humanist ideology" found in the "rhetorical culture that first began to flourish in the Italian city-republics in the early years of the thirteenth century." Quentin Skinner, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti: the Artist as Political Philosopher." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986), 3. For Randolph Starn and Loren Partridge, who have argued that during the Renaissance art became "a work of state," the images supposedly contend with the problematic of republican representation. Randolph Starn and Loren W. Partridge, *Arts of Power: Three Halls of State in Italy, 1300-1600*. 19 Vol. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 3 and 59.

[11]"E così deliberato si misse in esechuzione e fatto el palazzo si deliberò di dipegniervi dentro la Pace e la Ghuerra e molti uomini rei e' quai erano stati già gran tenpo e fatto male, et anco tutti quegli e' quali avesseno operato bene per la republica di Siena, e anco furo dipente le IIII virtù teologiche co' molti segni di prudenza e d'asercizio e d'igegnio. E questo edifichamento di detta dipinture fece maestro Ambruogio Lorenzetti. E queste dipinture sono in nel detto palazzo del comuno salito le schale al primo uscio a mano sinistra; e chi vi va el può vedere." See 'Cronaca senese dei fatti riguardanti la città ed il suo territorio', in *Cronaca Senese*, anonymous manuscript, c. 1350, Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, A. III, 26, published in "Cronache senesi," ed. A. Lisini and F. Iacometti, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori (Bologna, 1931–9), XV, 6, 78, as cited in Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, "War and Peace: The Description of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in Saint Bernardino's 1425 Siena Sermons." *Renaissance Studies* 15.3 (2001): 280. See also Edna Carter Southard, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in the Sala della Pace: A Change of Names." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 24.3 (1980), 361.

[12] Writing between 1447 and 1455, Lorenzo Ghiberti called them Peace and War ("nel palagio di Siena è dipinto di sua mano la pace e la guerra"), and in 1550 Giorgio Vasari described them as "la Guerra, la Pace, et gli accidenti di quelle." See Lorenzo Ghiberti, *I Commentarii*, 1447 – 1455, J. von Schlosser ed., Denkwürdigkeiten, 2 vols., Berlin, 1912, vol. 1, 41 and Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite del Vasari Nell'Edizione del MDL*. Corrado Ricci ed., Milano; Roma: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1930, vol. 1, 168, as cited in Southard, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in the Sala della Pace," 362.

[13] Each day during the months of April through June the emaciated friar climbed into a wooden pulpit that had been set up in front of the Palazzo Pubblico and called upon his listeners to renounce partisan divisions in favor of civic unity. As part of the staged peace ceremonies Bernardino conducted an ekphrasis of Lorenzetti's frescoes. In doing so he employed the images as visual *exempla,* methods of

must have together" (*la predica de la concordia e unione che doviamo avere insieme*) delivered from a wooden pulpit installed in front of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena's Piazza del Campo:

> When I was outside of Siena I preached about the Peace and War that you have painted, which for certain were beautifully inventive. Turning to Peace, I see merchandise circulating; I see dancing, I see houses being rebuilt; I see work in the vineyards and fields being sown, I see people going to the baths, I see girls on horseback going to be married, I see flocks of sheep, etc. And I see a man who has been hanged in order to maintain holy justice. And due to these things, everyone lives in holy peace and concord.[14]

Here Bernardino did not envision a peaceful city and thriving economy as the effects of the policies of government. Instead, peace was a state of being that was actively produced by the free movement and interaction of people and goods.

The use of cumbersome titles such as "the Effects of Good and Bad Government in the City and Countryside" appears to have originated with Luigi Lanzi's 1792 interpretation of the images as a "poem" of moral teaching about successful government.[15] The continuing popularity

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persuasion meant to convince the population of the benefits of civic peace. See Debby, "War and Peace: The Description of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in Saint Bernardino's 1425 Siena Sermons," 272. These sermons are recorded in Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari [di] San Bernardino da Siena: Predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Firenze: Tipografia E. Rinaldi, 1958. Vols I and II. For more on these sermons see Cynthia Polecritti. *Preaching peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena & his audience.* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000.

[14] "Quando so' stato fuore di Siena, e ò predicato de la pace e de la guerra che voi avete dipenta, che per certo fu bellissima inventiva. Voltandomi a la Pace, vego le mercanzie andare atorno; vego balli, vego racconciare le case; vego lavorare vigne e terre, seminare, andare a' bagni, a cavallo, vego andare le fanciulle a marito, vego le grege de le pecore etc. E vego impicato l'uomo per mantenere la santa giustizia. E per queste cose, ognuno sta in santa pace e Concordia." Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari – predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, ed. C. Cannarozzi (Florence, 1958), II, 266–7. The English translation is mine. Bernardino would once again refer to the paintings as "Peace" and "War" in another sermon delivered in Siena in 1427: "Voi l'avete dipènta di sopra nel vostro Palazo, che a vedere la Pace dipènta è una allegreza. E così è una scurità a vedere dipènta la Guerra dell'altro lato." Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino dette nella Piazza del Campo l'Anno MCCCCXXVII*, L. Banchi ed., 3 vols., Siena, 1880 – 88, III, 373.

[15] "Una grande opera di questo ove si soscrive Ambrosius Laurentii, si vede in Palazzo pubblico; e si può dire anche un poema d'insegnamenti morali. I Vizj di un mal Governo sotto aspetti diversi, e con simboli convenienti vi sono rappresentati; aggiuntovi anche de' versi che ne spiegano le qualità e gli effetti. Vi si veggono anche le Virtù personificate, come oggi dicesi, pur con simboli adatti; e tutto il dipinto tende a formare alla Repubblica de' governanti e de' politici non animati d'altro spirito, che di virtù vera," Luigi

of such designations has remained surprisingly resilient. Patrick Boucheron argued that the mislabeling of Lorenzetti's paintings on the east and west walls since the eighteenth century has blinded us to the fact that these images were not allegories of government; rather they literally brought into being the states of peace and war.[16] For Boucheron, the pictures both identified and warned against the dangers of factionalism and civil strife, which were a source of constant anxiety for Siena's governors, while at the same time they magically warded off these threats.[17]

Like Boucheron, I am interested in the ritualistic "conjuring" potential of art. Through his artistic capacity for pictorial invention Lorenzetti created a peaceful state on the east wall of the Sala della Pace.[18] The generative potential of such creative acts is also staged in the painting itself. That is to say, the thriving republic on the east wall is one that is made peaceful by the variety of constructive activities engaged in by its inhabitants, just as Bernardino had emphasized in his vivid description of the painting. In this sense the mural may be taken as evidence of a painter developing a *poietical* programme, in that the imagery consistently emphasizing acts of

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Lanzi, *La Storia Pittorica della Italia Inferiore*, Florence, 1792, 159, as cited in Southard, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in the Sala della Pace: A Change of Names," 361.

[16] "Entendons bien: elle n'est pas seulement *perçue* ainsi, elle *est* cela." Patrick Boucheron, "Nachleben: les ombres veillent," in *Conjurer la Peur: Sienne, 1338; essai sur la force politique des images.* Paris: Seuil, 2013, 46. Jack Greenstein had also commented on the modern mislabeling of the frescoes: "The modern view of Lorenzetti's fresco stands in sharp contrast to Ghiberti's. Where Ghiberti saw 'that which pertains to peace', art historians have seen 'the effects of good government.'" See Jack M. Greenstein, "The Vision of Peace: Meaning and Representation in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Sala della Pace Cityscapes." *Art History* 11.4 (1988), 492. On Ghiberti's description of the frescoes see note 11 above.

[17] Seeking to counter the inclination of modern literature to reduce Lorenzetti's paintings to mere illustrations of texts on political theory, Boucheron asked us to instead consider the "force politique" of the murals as visual works of art. According to Boucheron, such readings occlude the "figurative power" of the frescoes: "Sans doute ce débat fait-il écran à la puissance proprement figurative de l'oeuvre peinte de Lorenzetti, et la masse d'arguments subtils et de références savantes qu'il mobilise pour faire diversion par rapport à ce que je crois être les enjeux essentiels de la peinture politique." Boucheron, "Avec le bien commun pour seigneur," in *Conjurer la Peur,* 171 – 172.

[18] One need only recall that Bernardino of Siena had described the murals precisely as "beautifully inventive" (*bellissima inventiva*).

making or bringing forth.[19] Seeking to salvage the word "poetics" from a definition that had come to imply the tiresome "rules, conventions or precepts dealing with the composition of lyric or dramatic poems, or even the making of verse," the French poet Paul Valéry turned to its etymological origins in the term "poiesis" (ποιησις):

> It is in short the quite simple notion of *making* that I wish to express. The making, the *poiein*, that I wish to consider is the kind that results in some finished work; I shall shortly limit it to the kind of works we have agreed to call *works of the mind*. I mean those which the mind likes to make for its own use, employing to that end any physical means that can serve.[20]

Valéry's ideas regarding the generative capacity of art may provide a helpful framework for understanding the mural on the east wall of the Sala della Pace.[21] For whatever else one can say about Lorenzetti's figures it is the simple fact that they are all caught in the act of doing

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[19] I borrow the concept of a *poietical* ('capable of making') fresco programme from Jérémie Koering, who used the term to describe Andrea Mantegna's interest in drawing analogies between nature's capacity to create and the artist's own creative ability as seen in the *Camera Picta*, and the artist's approach to the "relationships between the human and natural, art and germination, to which the association of man and plant gives rise." See Jérémie Koering, "Changing Forms: Mantegna's Poietics in the Camera Picta." *Art History* 37.2 (2014), 295 – 302.

[20] "c'est enfin la notion toute simple de faire que je voulais exprimer. Le faire, le poïen, dont je veux m'occuper, est celui qui s'achève en quelque œuvre et que je viendrai à restreindre bientôt à ce genre d'œuvres qu'on est convenu d'appeler œuvres de l'esprit ...Comme l'acte simple dont je parlais, toute œuvre peut ou non nous induire à méditer sur cette génération..." Paul Valéry, 'Première leçon du cours de poétique', in *Œuvres 1*, 'La Pléiade', Paris, 1957, , 1342. The English translation is from Paul Valéry, "The Course in Poetics: First Lesson," in Brewster Ghiselin ed., *The Creative Process.* New American Library of World Literature: New York, 1955, 92 – 93.

[21] The paintings were made, after all, in the same culture in which Petrarch had once likened the act of composing a poem to processes involved in constructing a building: "I had begun a great work in that genre [vernacular poetry], and I had laid down the foundations of the edifice along with the plaster, stone, and wood" (Hac spe tractus simulque stimulis actus adolescentie magnum eo in genere opus inceperam iactisque iam quasi edificii fundamentis calcem ac lapides et ligna congesseram). The passage is from a letter to Boccaccio. Later in the same letter Petrarch laments that, having spent great efforts on constructing his poetic edifice, he would hear individuals performing crude recitations of his poetry which led him to believe that "writings are not recited but ripped apart" (ut non recitati scripta dicers sed discerpi). He goes on to say: "I came to the conclusion that to build on mud and sand that was always giving way was work wasted, and that I, and my work as well, would simply be torn apart in the hands of the common herd" (…intellexi tandem molli in limo et instabili arena perdi operam meque et laborem meum inter vulgi manus laceratum iri). See Francesco Petrarca, *Res Seniles*, Libri V-VIII. Silvia Rizzo ed. with Monica Berté. Florence: Le Lettere, 2009, 5.2, 42. The English translation is from Christopher S. Celenza, "Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio," in *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance: Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 29 – 30.

something that is so striking (Fig. 2). The painter visualized a peaceful and secure state as one that is produced by humans and animals interacting within a network of objects and the built environment. The republic is made prosperous by dancers singing and dancing in the street, shoemakers manufacturing and repairing shoes, students listening intently to a speaking lecturer, artisans crafting and selling their wares, merchants and shepherds bringing their provisions and livestock to market, masons busily constructing a palazzo, hunters traveling freely in the countryside, and farmers working their bountiful fields.

Lorenzetti's thriving state was constructed through the activities of its people and the production and flow of goods, an element of the pictures that had been stressed in Bernardino's ekphrasis of the pictures. Consequently, when the Franciscan preacher described the dystopian state seen in the mural of *War in the City and Countryside* he emphasized destructive acts and an absence of creation (Fig. 3):

> I do not see merchandise; I do not see dancing, I see people being killed; there are no houses being rebuilt, they are in ruins and burnt; the fields are not being worked; the vineyards are cut down; there is no sowing, the baths are not being used nor are there other pleasant things, and I do not see anybody going out. Oh women! Oh men! A man is dead, a woman is raped, the herds are prey; treacherous men kill one another.[22]

Given the associations drawn between creative acts and the state of peace, as well as destructive acts and the state of war, it should come as no surprise that an obsession with constructing infrastructure was a defining feature of a series of successive Sienese regimes. For it was through such productive activities that the bond between the *urbs* and the *civitas* might be strengthened.

[22] "Non vego mercanzie; non vego balli, anco vego uccidare altrui; non s'acconciano case, anco si guastano e ardono; non si lavora terre; le vigne si tagliano, non si semina, non s'usano a bagni nè altre cose dilettevoli, non vego se no' quando si va di fuore. O donne! O uomini! L'uomo morto, la donna sforzata, non armenti se none in preda; uomini a tradimento uccidare l'uno l'altro." Bernardino da Siena, *Le prediche volgari – predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, II, 266–7. The English translation is mine.

(Re)making the Sienese Republic

One of the main reasons Siena was selected as the case study for exploring the relationships between artistic production and state formation in fifteenth-century Italy is that for much of the city's history its unique geographical situation and labyrinthine political structures encouraged endemic forms of factionalism. The physical layout of Siena encouraged the development of competing neighborhoods, with tensions often boiling over into open hostility between various social groups. The city stretches out along three hills that approximate the shape of an inverted letter "Y". Each portion of the "Y" roughly corresponds to the three major administrative districts known as *terzi*.[23] Each *terzo* was further divided into smaller districts known as *contrade*, *popoli,* and *lire*, whose jurisdictions often overlapped one another.[24]

The reality of these coinciding jurisdictions meant that a government intent upon ruling Siena with any measure of success had to exert much of its efforts on encouraging social cohesion. From 1287 until 1355, the city had been governed by the *monte dei Nove*, an oligarchic regime composed of nine governors selected through a strictly regulated system which concentrated power amongst an elite group of merchants and bankers.[25] The regime of the Nine did much to encourage solidarity under its rule by actively promoting the idea that communal *libertà* depended upon

[23] To the southwest is the *terzo* of Città, which includes the cathedral. It meets the southeastern *terzo* of San Martino near the intersection of the Croce del Travaglio, where the road known as the Strada Romana met the Via di Città. To the northwest is the *terzo* of Camollia.
[24] In 1318 there were approximately thirty-six *popoli* and more than two hundred *contrade*, while by the 1330s there were more than sixty *lire*. For more on these subdivisions, see William M. Bowsky, "Resources: Natural and Human," in *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena Under the Nine, 1287-1355*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, 12 – 13.
[25] At the height of its territorial expansion under the *Nove* Siena claimed rule over an area that extended roughly thirty miles in radius from the city. This is indicated by a rubric of the Sienese constitution of 1337 – 1339. See ASS, *Statuti* 26, Dist. III, r. 332, f. 181r, as cited in Bowsky, "Resources: Natural and Human," 4.

political unity.[26] One of the primary ways the regime encouraged a pacified populace was through government-funded construction projects. The Nine had been almost continually active in public works, to the point that the very concept of functioning government was equated with ongoing processes of urban planning, construction, renewal and beautification.[27] Between 1297 and 1325 the regime embarked upon a series of major projects that included the Palazzo Pubblico, new prisons, and the Torre del Mangia. After 1326 there was an ongoing effort to expand the city walls. Following the end of the plague outbreak of 1348 the Cappella della Piazza was built in front of the Palazzo Pubblico as an offering of gratitude to the Virgin. In addition to extensive new paving done on city streets the Piazza del Campo itself received its distinctive pavement in stages between 1333 and 1349, the nine divisions alluding to the *noveschi* regime (Fig. 4). During this same period the city's waterworks also became a central focus of the civic government. New fountains were built and existing ones repaired, the elaborate system of tunnels known as *bottini* were extended and maintained, and in 1347 a newly constructed *bottino maestro* brought water for the first time to a fountain built in the Campo.

The arrival of the bubonic plague in Siena in May of 1348 dramatically reduced the population of the city from around 50,000 inhabitants to approximately 15,000.[28] In 1355 the

[26] This ideology permeates Lorenzetti's fresco on the north wall of the Sala della Pace. At the left of the image two ropes lead from the scales of *Justice* to the hands of a figure identified by an inscription as *Concordia*. The cords then wind their way through a crowd that embodies the Sienese *popolo*, only to end up wrapped around the right hand of an enthroned elderly male; the allegorical image of the *ben comune*. For more on the relationship between art and political cohesion under the *Nove*, see Brendan Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," in *Politics, Civic Ideals and Sculpture in Italy c. 1240-1400*. London: Harvey Miller, 2007, 87 – 147.

[27] By 1300 there were three hundred statutes dealing with the development of the city, and by 1309 it was forbidden to erect any building in the city without official approval. See Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*, 24.

[28] Gabriella Piccinni, "Siena e la Peste del 1348," in Roberto Barzanti, Giuliano Catoni, and Mario De Gregorio eds. *Storia di Siena*. Vol. 1. Siena: Edizioni Alsaba, 1995, 228. For more on the impact of the plague upon the Sienese government, see William M. Bowsky, "The Impact of the Black Death upon Sienese Government and Society." *Speculum* 39.1 (1964): 1-34.

regime of the Nine collapsed as previously excluded social groups demanded greater participation in the city's governance. This led to a period of growing fractures in political structures as a series of regimes comprised of competing *monti* rose to power in the succeeding years.[29] This lengthy period of tumultuous factionalism eventually resulted in foreign domination by Milan beginning in 1389. In that year, Siena found itself under military threat by the despised Florentines and sought Milanese protection from its longstanding enemy. This culminated in formal submission to the duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, in 1399.[30] The significance of the period under Gian Galeazzo's rule cannot be overstated. Prior to the advent of Milanese domination Siena had long maintained its independence. The onset of foreign involvement in the Republic's affairs had seemingly provided confirmation that factionalism only weakened Siena's ability to resist exogenous threats to self-rule. In the political vacuum that followed the death of Gian Galeazzo in

[29] The *monti* functioned almost like political parties, and membership was determined largely by bloodlines. A revolt in 1355 led to the installation of a new oligarchic regime composed of twelve governors (the *monte dei Dodici*) drawn from the leadership of the twelve guilds of international trade, and from which members of the families who had participated in the previous regime of the *Nove* were excluded. This new administration lasted until September 1368, when members of the nobility attempted to institute a new oligarchy. This new government lasted only a month before an insurrection led by popular factions previously excluded from power occurred in October of that year, sending the noble families into exile. At this point a new government composed of five reformers (the *monte dei Riformatori*) drawn from the popular factions, three members of the *Nove,* and four members from the *Dodici* took over. This government lasted only until December, when once again popular factions attempted to institute a new oligarchy comprised of fifteen *Riformatori*. This new regime failed within a month and the previous coalition of *Riformatori, Nove* and *Dodici* was restored and ruled until 1385, when a new coalition combining members of the *Nove*, the *Dodici* and a group of popular factions (the *monte dei Popolari*) briefly came to power. For a discussion of the composition of the regime of the twelve and its demise, see Valerie Wainwright, "Conflict and popular government in the 14th century Siena: il Monte dei Dodici 1355-1368," in *I ceti dirigenti della Toscana tardo- comunale. Atti del III convegno, Firenze, 5-7 Dicembre 1980*. Firenze: Francesco Papafava, 1983, and Elena Brizio, *Siena nel secondo Trecento. Organismi istituzionali e personale politico dalla caduta dei Dodici alla dominazione Viscontea (1368-1399).* PhD Dissertation, University of Florence, 1992. For more on the *Riformatori,* see Valerie Wainwright, "The Testing of a Popular Sienese Regime: The "Riformatori" and the Insurrections of 1371." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 2 (1987): 107-70.

[30] For more on this phase of the Visconti period, see Maria Assunta Ceppari, "La signoria di Gian Galeazzo Visconti," in Roberto Barzanti, Giuliano Catoni, and Mario De Gregorio eds. *Storia Di Siena*. Vol. 1. Siena: Edizioni Alsaba, 1995, 321-326.

1402, the Sienese seized the opportunity to reassert their independence and expelled the Milanese governor in 1404.[31]

In his book *Painting, Power and Patronage*, Bram Kempers argued that the disruptive events that followed the plague of 1348 resulted in a prolonged "stagnation" in the processes of state formation, civilization, and professionalization from which Siena never recovered.[32] Yet the account that Kempers provides of post-1348 Siena is at best an overly simplified summary of the city-state's political history. In fact, what one witnesses in the period following the restoration of Sienese independence in 1404 is a revival of some of the very same processes of centralization that had been initiated by the government of the Nine. It was at this time that the city entered a new phase of relative political stability, characterized by the development of an institutional framework based upon the greater participation of social groups in administrative and political power. Members of the *monti* of the *Riformatori*, *Popolari* and *Nove* worked together to produce a coalitional republican regime that would rule the city until the rise of the tyrant Pandolfo Petrucci in the 1480s, although periodic outbreaks of infighting still plagued the new regime.[33] A growing

[31] A preoccupation with preventing future foreign domination permeates a document composed in 1404 that reads like a late-medieval declaration of independence: "The commune of Siena is obliged and must forever be and maintain itself in liberty and live freely and democratically [*populariter*] and rule itself and must never wholly or partially submit itself and be subjected to any lord, prince, or tyrant whether spiritual or temporal of any station, position, dignity or condition that exists in any way or at any time, either directly or indirectly, silently or openly, nor welcome any superior, usurper, or any other overlord in any way." G. Catoni, "Genesi e ordinamento della Sapienza di Siena," *Studi Senesi* 85 (1973), 159. The English translation is from Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 39.

[32] Bram Kempers, "Introduction" in *Painting, Power and Patronage: the Rise of the Professional Artist in the Italian Renaissance*, Beverley Jackson trans. London, U.K.: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1992, 14 and 81. The book was originally published in Dutch in 1987. See Bram Kempers, *Kunst, Macht en Mecenaat*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1987.

[33] The new government was formed of a *Capitano del Popolo*, the highest state authority, while the *Concistoro* of ten priors (*dieci signori priori*) formed his cabinet. A *Consiglio generale* of approximately 300 members would approve legislation passed by the *Concistoro*, while the *Consiglio del Popolo* further reviewed legislation. Members of the *Dodici* regime and the nobility were excluded from positions of political power within this new regime, although they were allowed to participate in administrative positions.

administrative apparatus was key to establishing the state capacity of the new government.[34] The expanded bureaucracy and other political reforms undertaken by the new regime are indicative of an attempt to return to the stability of the past by reviving some of the policies of the Nine.[35]

The new government once again emphasized the need for solidarity above all other civic virtues. One witnesses the ever-present desire for political consensus in the form of the ritualized oaths of peacemaking that were repeatedly required by the *Consiglio del Popolo* throughout the fifteenth century. The oaths were a key element of ceremonies designed to make public demonstrations of unity and to bind participants through the solemn nature of the obligations they were undertaking. These were highly choreographed religio-political affairs. Participants gathered in the council chamber, knelt before an altar bearing the consecrated host and a missal open to a page containing an image of the crucified Christ, and placed their hand upon the book as they

[34] The political economist Mattia Fochesato characterized these transformations in the following manner: "The city of Siena developed a modern form of organization of administrative functions which allowed the social groups of the city to cooperate in political power. This institutional change facilitated the maintenance of a low level of intra-state conflict, allowing for the state capacity required to resist external conflicts and to continue to provide public services to the community." See Mattia Fochesato, "Administrative organization and state formation in Siena in the 14th century," in *Three Essays in Economic History, Institutional Change, and Inequality*, PhD Dissertation, University of Siena, 2013, 9. For more on the reformed republican government following 1404 and the nature of the different administrative branches, see Mario Ascheri and Donatella Ciampoli, *Siena e Il Suo Territorio Nel Rinascimento*. Siena: Il Leccio, 1986, 22-56, Luca Fusai, *La Storia Di Siena Dalle Origini al 1559*. Siena: Il Leccio, 1987, 253 – 260, and Mario Ascheri and Petra Pertici, "La Situazione Politica Senese del Secondo Quattrocento (1456-79)," in *La Toscana al Tempo Di Lorenzo Il Magnifico: Politica, Economia, Cultura, Arte,* vol. 3, Pisa: Pacini editore, 1996, 995. For more on the impact of administrative power on political developments in general, see Avner Greif, "The impact of administrative power on political and economic developments: toward a political economy of implementation," in Elhanan Helpman ed. *Institutions and Economic Performance.* 1st ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008, 17–63.

[35] The growth in bureaucratic apparatuses in Sienese public administration during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represent typical examples of the centralizing processes of state formation as identified, for example, by the sociologist Norbert Elias and the art historian Bram Kempers. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process, Vol. II: State Formation and Civilization*. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1982; and Kempers, *Painting, Power and Patronage*, esp. 7 – 8 and 81 – 95.

swore their allegiance to the regime.[36] Such communal oath-takings were by no means peculiar to Siena and similar rites took place in other cities on the peninsula. Yet as Christine Shaw has noted, while peacemaking ceremonies in other cities were largely isolated episodes, in fifteenth-century Siena they were staged repeatedly.[37] Whenever the political stability of the regime was threatened a ritual was performed, with the terms of the oaths curated to the specific demands of the immediate political circumstances. Glenn Kumhera has studied the development of peace rituals in late medieval Siena at length and noted that while the specific limitations placed upon their use indicate an expansion of judicial authority, peacemaking cannot be accurately viewed as a top-down institution.[38] Rather it was a social act and performance of bringing forth—a literal peace-making—intended to benefit the entire populace.

Almost immediately following their rise to power the newly formed coalitional republican government initiated a number of significant construction projects. Renovations to the Palazzo Pubblico were begun as the regime sought to place its stamp upon the seat of power. As a result of the growing administrative bureaucracy associated with the new government the ground floor of the palace was given over to expanded office space.[39] The palace chapel (the

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[36] Christine Shaw, "Peace-Making Rituals in Fifteenth-Century Siena." *Renaissance Studies* 20.2 (2006), 231.

[37] Oaths were taken in February 1429 and July 1439, although the political context for these two is unclear. Another was taken in April 1457 when the government experimented with replacing the *Consiglio del Popolo* with a more restricted council, the *Balia Maggiore*. When the *Monte dei Gentiluomini* were readmitted to the popular government in April 1459 following pressure from Pope Pius II, the event was preceded by a peacemaking ritual pledging loyalty to the regime. Similar oaths were taken March 1480, just two months prior to the expulsion of the *Monte dei Riformatori*, and in September 1480 shortly after the reorganization of the government. In November 1482 the *Riformatori* and *Nove* swore to forgive past injuries and to not attack one another in the future, while the *Popolari* pledged to act as guarantors to the pact. This precipitated a growth in the power of the *Monte del Popolo*, and in September 1484 another oath was taken to ease concerns over its spreading dominance. See Shaw, "Peace-Making Rituals in Fifteenth-Century Siena," 227 – 229.

[38] Glenn Kumhera, *The Benefits of Peace: Private Peacemaking in Late Medieval Italy*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017, 257.

[39] The renovation of the second floor included the creation of smaller spaces for the chapel and the *Sala di Balia* by filling in the arches of the more open plan of the original structure. See Gail Solberg, "Siena,

Cappella de'Nove) was relocated to the *piano nobile* and renamed the *Cappella de'Signoria*. Work proceeded swiftly and on 25 August 1406 the Sienese painter Taddeo di Bartolo was commissioned to paint a cycle of the life of the Virgin in the new chapel along with images of full length saints set in fictive niches.[40] The city's water supply system had also fallen into disrepair in the interval between the fall of the Nine in 1355 and the restoration of the republic in 1404.[41] In 1406 the general council appointed three "*valenti cittadini*" to address the "negligence of the past" (*nigligentie passate)* with the fear being that continued inattention to the water supply system would place the city at risk of being "damaged and shamed" (*danno e vergogna*).[42]

All of these projects were part of a wider *renovatio urbis*, the physical reshaping of Siena conceived of as part of a campaign of civic amelioration under which aesthetic considerations played a major role. The art historian Fabrizio Nevola has studied the fifteenth-century urban

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1399-1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*. PhD Dissertation, New York University, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1991 (9134691), 176.

[40] Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), Concistoro, 243, c. 18, as cited in Ubaldo Morandi, "Documenti" in Cesare Brandi ed., *Palazzo Pubblico Di Siena: Vicende Costruttive e Decorazione*. Milano: Silvana, 1983, 423.

[41] The statutes relating to the maintenance and construction of fountains and aqueducts in Siena contain a gap beginning in 1355 that ends only in 1403. See Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena e i Loro Aquedotti: Note Storiche Dalle Origini Fino Al 1555*. (2 vols.). Siena: Periccioli, 1906; 1992, vol. 2. Anne Hanson has also noted that for the period from 1395 until 1406 there are no records of any work being done on the *bottini*, or on the *Fonte Gaia*. See Anne Coffin Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, 10.

[42] The full passage reads "Nel generale Consiglio convocato, ecc., vinte et ottenute furo le infrascritte provisioni cioè: conciò sia cosa che per le nigligentie passate e' buttini de la fonte del Campo et di Fontebranda et del altre fonti de la città di Siena, sieno in parte ripieni et per mancare in modo et forma che se prestamente non si provede l'acqua de le dette fonti a tutto è per mancare o senza grande spendio non si ritornarebbeno al loro corso usato, acciò che le dette acque non manchino perchè sarebbe danno et vergogna de la città di Siena, proveduto et ordinate è per certi cittadini, sopra la detta material eletti, che per li Magnifici Signori Priori, Capitano di Popolo e Gonfalonieri maestri s' eleggano tre valenti cittadini e' quali si mandino a scontrino nel Consiglio Generale, et quello che otterrà le più voci, rimanga operaio de l'acque et buttini predecti per tempo di due anni et più, a bene placito d'esso Consiglio Generale, con salario di libber cento di denari netti di cabella per ciascuno anno da pagarsi per lo Camerario di Biccherna senza altra pulitia o decreto." See Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena e i Loro Aquedotti: Note Storiche Dalle Origini Fino Al 1555*, vol. 2, 41.

renewal of Siena at length and noted that the phenomenon's roots lay in a revival of the policies of the Nine.[43] Looking at Lorenzetti's wall murals in the Sala della Pace, Nevola remarked that civic investment in architecture "clearly inspired the content" of the paintings, and that "it seems clear that the allegory of the *Effects of Good and Bad Government* itself rests on the basic metaphor that the physical fabric of the city forms the setting for an idealized vision of urban life, defined in terms of varied human activities and interaction."[44] Yet as we have seen it is doubtful that the regime of the Nine or Lorenzetti himself considered the relationship between the built environment and that of urban life to be purely metaphorical in nature, at least not in the modern sense of a thing "representing" or "symbolizing" something else. Nor was the built environment conceived of simply as a "setting" for the unfolding of civic life, rather it was understood as a creative medium that actively gave urban experience form and shaped its meaning.

The artist as administrator

One of my goals when I began work on this dissertation was to explore the idea that artists and the objects they create have a critical role to play in public administration. Late-medieval Siena is a particularly relevant case study for pursuing this line of thinking because local artists often took on additional social roles in the *reggimento* and its administration. In his biography of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Giorgio Vasari noted that "he was always circulating with *literati* and scholars, from whom he received the title of well-seen genius, and he was also employed by the Republic in its popular governments many times, in good faith and with great

[43] F. J. D. Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città": Siena's Strada Romana and Fifteenth-Century Urban Renewal," *Art Bulletin*, 82 (2000), 26.
[44] Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città," 26.

honor."[45] Records indicate that Lorenzetti was indeed elected to the governing body known as the *Consiglio dei Paciari* in 1347.[46] The tradition of Sienese artists acting as civil servants continued into the fifteenth century. The painter Taddeo di Bartolo had a highly successful career in public office and was elected on numerous occasions to positions within the civic government. In July of 1404 he began a six-month term in the tax office known as the *Gabella*.[47] This was followed by election to the *Concistoro* in July of 1406.[48] Taddeo would go on to serve two more terms in the *Concistoro* in 1412 and 1420.[49] In 1418 he was made *Capitano* of the parish of San Salvatore.[50] The artist-engineer Mariano di Jacopo, also known as Il Taccola, held a variety of administrative positions in the city.[51] He was nominated for admission to the guild of judges and notaries in 1417 and served as secretary (*camarlingo*) of the *Domus Sapientiae*, a hospital and

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[45] "praticando sempre con literati e studiosi, fu da quegli con titolo d'ingegnoso ricevuto e del continuo ben visto, e fu messo in opera dalla republica ne' governi publici molte volte, e con buon grado e con buona venerazione." Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' piú Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani: Da Cimabue Insino a' Tempi Nostri. Nell Edizione per i Tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*. Torino: G. Einaudi, 1986, 150. The English translation is mine.

[46] As part of his role as councilor Ambrogio gave a speech to the council of 201 citizens on 2 November 1347. According to the minutes from that session, Lorenzetti spoke in "*sua sapientia verba*" in favor of proposals for expanding the political franchise, strengthening the office of the Captain of the People, and regulating conflicts of interest among officials. Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), *Concistoro* 2 (1347), fol. 8v, as cited in Patrick Boucheron, ""Tournez Les Yeux Pour Admirer, Vous Qui Exercez Le Pouvoir, Celle Qui Est Peinte Ici": La Fresque Du Bon Gouvernement d'Ambrogio Lorenzetti." *Annales.Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 60.6 (2005): 1146, n. 27, and Starn and Partridge, *Arts of Power,* 318, n. 83.

[47] ASS, *Concistoro* 233, c. 23, as cited in Solberg, "Siena, 1399-1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 165.

[48] In this role Taddeo represented the *terzo* of San Martino. See Solberg, "Siena, 1399-1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work,* 173.

[49] Solberg, "The Late Career, 1410 - 1422," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 223 and 264.

[50] Solberg, "The Late Career, 1410 - 1422," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 248.

[51] Taccola's artistic background is indicated primarily by works he produced for the Sienese cathedral. On 26 June 1408 he was paid eight lire and eight soldi by the Opera del Duomo for sixteen sculpted wooden heads he carved for the choir. See Archive of the Opera del Duomo of Siena, *Memoriale del camarlingo*, 1408 – 09, fol. 55, as cited in James H. Beck, "The Historical "Taccola" and Emperor Sigismund in Siena." *The Art Bulletin* 50.4 (1968), 319. For more on Taccola's career, see Mariano di Jacopo Taccola, *De ingeneis: Liber primus leonis, liber secundus draconis, addenda; Books I and II, On Engines, and Addenda (The Notebook).* Gustina Scaglia, Frank D. Prager, and Ulrich Montag eds. and trans. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert*,* 1984, vol. 1: 11 – 15; and Frank D. Prager and Gustina Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola and His Book De Ingeneis*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972, 1 – 21.

student lodging that also served as a temporary residence for foreign visitors. When his position at the *Domus* ended in 1434, Taccola became a *stimatore*, one who tallied completed work at building sites, assigned wages, and estimated the amounts of materials needed. In 1441 he was appointed *viaio*, superintendent of the streets, fountains, and bridges in the city.[52] The sculptor Jacopo della Quercia was selected as *priore* for the *terzo di Città* in January of 1435.[53] Shortly afterwards he was elected *Operaio* of the Duomo, the director of the cathedral and its chief lay executive.[54]

Carl Brandon Strehlke has argued that "considering the political power of the *operaio* and the fact that only the politically powerful were appointed, it is in itself rather amazing that Jacopo [della Quercia], an artist, could ever have aspired to the post."[55] In a similar fashion

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[52] James H. Beck (ed.), Mariano di Jacopo detto il Taccola, *Liber Tertius de Ingeneis ac Edifitiis non Usitatis*. Milano: Ed. di Polifilio, 1969, 31.

[53] ASS, *Consiglio generale* 218, fol. 104v, as cited in James H. Beck, "The Documents," in *Jacopo Della Quercia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, vol. 2, 506. In February of the same year he was a candidate for rector of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, but did not land the position. Bernardino degli Albizzeschi had also been an unsuccessful candidate in this election, losing out to Giovanni di Francesco Buzzichelli. See ASS, *Concistoro* 414, fols. 20v, 22, 23, as cited in Beck, "The Documents," 507.

[54] ASS, *Concistoro* 1408/09, fol. 46v, as cited in Beck, "The Documents," 507. Ever since the regime of the *Nove* the Opera del Duomo fell under communal jurisdiction and was funded by the state, with alterations to the fabric of the cathedral and its interior embellishment generally funded by civic expenses. See Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*, 24.

[55] Strehlke points to the increasing prestige and social visibility of the *operaio* in the fifteenth century as evidence of the political power of the position: "The *operaio* was expected to receive important visitors, and the official residence was therefore enlarged and luxuriously fitted out (examples of its tableware still exist). The new Byzantine patriarch stayed there in 1443, and the mother of Pope Nicholas V was a guest in 1448. Several *operaii* came from the city's leading and most politically active families...*Operaii* held other posts, sat on government boards, and frequently undertook diplomatic missions." Considering the long tradition of artists taking on administrative roles in Siena, Strehlke's statement on Jacopo della Quercia is rather odd. Strehlke himself noted that during the fourteenth century Domenico di Vanni, a sculptor, and the painter Andrea Vanni both held the position of *Operaio*, and further commented that both of these artists were also "politically active." See Carl Brandon Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," in Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Brandon Strehlke eds., *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420-1500*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989, 44.

Pamela Long found Taccola's notarial training "unusual" for an artist.[56] Yet there clearly was a Sienese tradition for artists taking on administrative roles. For Strehlke, the burgeoning administrative bureaucracy of fifteenth-century Siena functioned as an impediment to cultural production:

> A literature of art did not develop in Siena primarily because government administration tapped the talents of local humanists who might have been inclined towards writing: The city was not considered fertile territory for *studia humanitatis*. This is partly because of the nature of the Sienese republican system of government. In the 1420s and early 1430s the university, or *Studio*, attracted famous humanists such as Francesco Filelfo as an instructor and Panormita and Francesco Pontano as students, but it built its reputation on jurisprudence and medicine, and grammarians and rhetoricians, the traditional humanist métiers, were poorly compensated. Sienese humanists pursued political careers. The Republic needed jurists, orators, and diplomats. While the city did produce scholars outside the law profession, and, for example, academic events like Francesco Patrizi's course on Cicero's *Rhetorica* in 1444 excited the local intellectual community, many men of letters complained that they had little time for study.[57]

Rather than envisioning the role of artists in the political and administrative structures of Siena as a hindrance to the study of its visual arts, it might be helpful to consider this tradition in relation to artistic production in the city. It is also important to note that, contrary to Strehlke's claim, it is far from certain that fifteenth-century Siena was not "fertile territory for *studia humanitatis.*" Luke Syson, for instance, has recently suggested the existence of "two kinds of humanism in Siena, not always easily separated out." The first was the *studia humanitatis* taught alongside medicine and law at the Sienese *Studio* for use in service of the state. This type of civic humanism was personified by Agostino Dati (d. April 1478), teacher of rhetoric and theology at the *Studio*.[58] Running counter to this formal approach was the idea of the study of the humanities

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[56] Pamela O. Long, "Authorship on the Mechanical Arts in the Last Scribal Age," in *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, 111.
[57] See Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 34.
[58] Dati studied under Francesco Filelfo and wrote a history of Piombino, a history of Siena (*Historiae Senenses*), orations, letters and the *Isagogicus libellus pro conficiendis epistolis et orationibus*, a highly popular manual of Latin grammar. See Egmont Lee, "Agostino Dati of Siena," in Peter Gerard Bietenholz

for pleasure—study for its own sake rather than solely for utilitarian purposes—a type of humanism most often associated with high ranking individuals such as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and the juristconsult Mariano Sozzini.[59] The volumes kept by the Franciscans in Siena also indicate a wide ranging interest in antique literature. A catalog of the library at San Francesco produced in 1481 records that at that point it contained 1351 items, including works by Ovid, Cicero, Seneca, Sallust, Lucan, Suetonius, and later Roman historians, all of which were made available to local scholars.[60] In contrast a book list dating to the years 1451 – 1457 from the chapter library of Bologna cathedral—a city with a longstanding reputation for scholarship—lists only 255 non-liturgical items.[61] The presence of these volumes at San Francesco may help account for the considerable correlations between the thinking and outlook of the famous preacher Bernardino of Siena and many of the humanists of his day.[62]

In Siena an artist taking on administrative roles was a common feature of civic life and a question could be raised as to whether there was a clear distinction between their creative work as visual artists and their role as public administrators. Along these lines Jean Campbell has recently noted that Simone Martini's signature on his fresco of the *Maestà*, painted in the

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and Thomas Brian Deutscher eds. *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation Volumes*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003, vol. 1, 378.

[59] Syson, "Stylistic Choices," 48.

[60] Max Elijah Grossman, *Pro honore comunis senensis et pulchritudine civitatis: Civic architecture and political ideology in the Republic of Siena, 1270–1420*, PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, Ann Arbor: UMI, 2006 (3213513), 136. The complete catalog is in K. W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century.* Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1978, 50-165.

[61] Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: the Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*. Boston: Brill, 2014, 177.

[62] On Bernardino's education in the *studia humanitatis,* the reflection of Greek and Ciceronian ideals of humanism in his writings, and his intimate contacts with a large number of humanists, many of whom admired him and his oratorical and rhetorical skillsets, see Joseph Bernard, *San Bernardino of Siena: His Relation to the Humanist World of the Early Italian Renaissance*, PhD Dissertation, Yale University, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1972; Franco Mormando, "The Humanists, the Pagan Classics and Bernardino da Siena." *Laurentianum* 27 (1986): 72 – 97; and F. Mormando, "To Persuade is a Victory: Rhetoric and Moral Reasoning in the Sermons of Bernardino of Siena," in James F. Keenan and Thomas A. Shannon eds. *The Context of Casuistry*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1995, 55- 84.

Palazzo Pubblico's Sala del Consiglio during the second decade of the fourteenth century, utilizes the witnessing language of a notary.[63] Indeed, if one of the tasks of public administration is to convert "form into substance" as it has been recently characterized, then the visual arts seem particularly suited to such a task.[64] One need only recall that the generation of a thriving community through creative acts that is staged in Lorenzetti's mural of *Peace* was paralleled by the artist's own remarkable ability to create such a scene through the use of the raw materials of paint and plaster. Just as the activities of the depicted artisanal figures contributed to the production of a peaceful state, Lorenzetti's creative act was itself an improvement to the material fabric of the Palazzo Pubblico.

In a study of a now lost set of tapestries commissioned by the governors of Siena in 1446, Deborah Kawsky argued that the tapestries' conscious revival of imagery from Lorenzetti's murals in the Sala della Pace represented "an attempt to reinforce the civic ideals which it embodied—good government and peace (with their antithesis, war, as an ever-present threat)—at a time when these very ideals were being threatened by internal and external conflict."[65] This time the external threat came in the form of a potential invasion by King Alfonso of Naples. For Kawsky the decision to revive such venerated civic icons at a moment of tension represented "a

[63] "In the lower framework of the fresco, adopting the notarial formula *a mano di* (by the hand of), Simone named his witnessing agency." C. Jean Campbell, "Petrarch's Italy, Sovereign Poetry and the Hand of Simone Martini," in Joost Keizer and Todd M. Richardson eds., *The Transformation of Vernacular Expression in Early Modern Arts.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012, 40.
[64] "The task of public administration is to translate the print from statute books into changed behavior by members of society – individuals, groups, organizations and businesses – in other words, to convert words into action, form into substance." Donald F. Kettl, "What is Public Administration?" in *Politics of the Administrative Process*. Thousand Oaks, California: CQ Press, 2018, 66.
[65] Deborah Lubera Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition: Civic Art and Civic Identity in Quattrocento Siena.* PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, Ann Arbor: UMI (9528932), 1995*,* 134. The tapestries consisted of three panels representing "buono governo del principe," flanked by "pace" and "guerra." They were made by the French artist Giachetto di Benedetto. For more on the tapestries see Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition,* 126 – 138.

deliberate attempt by civic authorities to establish a dialogue between Siena's present and her glorious past."[66] Luke Syson has similarly remarked upon the Sienese inclination to incite devotion to a "glorious past" at moments of crisis.[67] A question arises, however, as to whether the tendency to turn to fourteenth-century models in urgent situations is best understood through the lens of propaganda. What is perhaps most telling is that at a moment of heightened political anxiety civic authorities were deeply absorbed in hammering out the details of an artistic commission. Their focus on the importance of completing the tapestries suggests that artistic commissions were seen as intrinsic to effective government. Art was understood as a ritualistic form of public administration, in the sense that it was thought to be capable of almost magically—or perhaps more correctly *poietically*—bringing into being a state of peace and stability.[68]

The structure of this dissertation

The dissertation is arranged around four chapters that take the form of case studies. The first chapter, "Hydrosolidarity," characterizes the development of Siena's water supply network as a material manifestation of the centralizing tendencies of state formation. Lacking a major river or lake within its territory Siena had long relied upon an ingenious infrastructure that collected water from rain fed aquifers. The chapter begins with a discussion of this system and the construction of a series of fountains during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The focus then shifts to an analysis of Jacopo della Quercia's magnificent *Fonte Gaia,* constructed in Siena's Piazza del Campo between 1408 and 1419. I argue that the fountain functioned as a

[66] Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition,* 135.
[67] See Luke Syson, "Introduction: Renaissance Siena: Art for a City," in Luke Syson et al eds., *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*. London: National Gallery, 2007, 12.
[68] On a related note, Michael Cole has suggested that we should situate the "painted force" that Michelangelo and Leonardo imparted to their figures within the history of magic. See Michael Cole, *Leonardo, Michelangelo, and the Art of the Figure*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, 150.

machine for generating a maternalistic form of government, wherein the independence of the *contrade* and *terzi* was subordinated to the central government.

The second chapter, "Scopic Form," explores the production of surveilled spaces throughout the city. A number of Sienese interventions in the built environment expanded the capacity for surveillance by increasing sightlines along major roads. Examining a series of artistic commissions within this context, I contend that public works of art contributed to the formation of a scopic regime primarily through the production of a visual rhetoric of watchfulness, as seen in the installation of figures possessing piercing gazes, and by the modulation of form towards an embodied beholder.

The third chapter, "Real Presence," examines Bernardino of Siena's creation of a golden-rayed sun-disc inscribed with the letters YHS, an abbreviation of the Holy Name of Jesus. The trigram was an emblem promoted by the friar as a weapon against factionalism in the city. During his lifetime Bernardino became the focal point of Sienese peacemaking rites. Following his death a number of painted panels of the saint took over this reconciliatory role by maintaining his presence within Sienese society. These panels all utilized a similar composition, wherein the face of the saint was brought into close proximity with a hovering image of the YHS. I discuss Bernardino's theorization of the image of the Holy Name before turning to a discussion of the installation of monumental trigrams on buildings throughout the city. Numerous bronze and stone trigrams were set above city gates and the doorways of public and private buildings where many survive to this day. I argue that the nearly ubiquitous presence of the Holy Name throughout the built environment of Siena not only encouraged a pacified populace through the creation of overlapping spaces where reverential behavior was appropriate, its repetition also fostered the production of Sienese solidarity and *communitas*.

The final chapter, “Vecchiezza,” situates the transformation of images of local saints as integral components in the fashioning of a civic identity for Siena as a gerontocracy. Following the death of Bernardino of Siena in 1444 a group of artists led by Lorenzo di Pietro reimagined a series of male saints as elderly figures despite their having well-established iconographies that previously showed them as youthful, idealized individuals. I contend that Lorenzo’s rather odd nickname “Il Vecchietta” (the little old one) referred to aspects of the artist's visual poetics, specifically his interest in visualizing the aging process. A final goal of this chapter, then, is to demonstrate that the visualization of senescence was linked not only to the fashioning of civic identity, but to ideas of artistic self-fashioning as well.

Chapter One: Hydrosolidarity

Waterworks make citizens of a community fundamentally dependent upon the collective management of the system, pointing towards what has sometimes been referred to as the "organic solidarity" that results from the increasingly complex division of labour in industrialized societies.[69] Yet it is far from certain that the generation of social solidarity through the collective management of water resources is a feature unique to modernity. This chapter will explore the idea that the governors of late-medieval Siena were well aware of the community-making potential of water supply systems. Building upon recent studies in the history of art and in architectural history that situate hydraulic systems as key elements in the development of medieval and early modern urban identities, it will be demonstrated that the Sienese water supply system formed a key component in the centralizing processes of state formation.[70]

The concept referred to by the title of this chapter, "Hydrosolidarity," is not ordinarily used in the context of art historical research. The term was first coined in the late 1990s by the

[69] This was a key facet of Émile Durkheim's theory of the division of labour: "On the one hand each one of us depends more intimately upon society the more labour is divided up, and on the other, the activity of each one of us is correspondingly more specialized…we propose to call 'organic' the solidarity that is due to the division of labour." Émile Durkheim, "Solidarity Arising from the Division of Labour, or Organic Solidarity," in Lewis A. Coser trans. *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1984, 85.

[70] In her recent study on Maillezais Abbey in western France, Mickey Abel argued that the features of the hydraulic system built by the monastic brothers beginning in the tenth century allowed the monastic domain to function like an urban complex: "it was the "uniting" nature of the hydraulic system developed initially by the first monks at Maillezais that was perhaps conceived of, but most certainly functioned as, the foundation for a broad ranging urban development." Mickey Abel, "Water as the Philosophical and Organizational Basis for an "Urban" Community Plan: the Case of Maillezais Abbey," in Mickey Abel ed., *Medieval Urban Planning: the Monastery and Beyond.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, 11. For more on the importance of water management as a component of medieval urban spatial practices see André Guillerm, *The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300-1800*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988; Clark Maines, "Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Context: The Urban Water Management Systems of Soissons," in Helmut Paulus, Herman Reidel, and Paul Winkler eds., *Wasser: Lebensquelle und Bedeutungsträger: Wasserversorgung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Regenensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 1999, 15-36; Jean-Pierre Leguay, *L'Eau dans le Ville au Moyen Age*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2002; and John Blair ed., *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Swedish hydrologist Malin Falkenmark who employed it as part of a wider vision of ethical water management for the twenty-first century.[71] The concept was initially formulated as a means to address the fact that care for the resource often demands political cooperation between nation-states. This is because naturally occurring water flows do not respect the culturally imposed geographical boundaries of political entities. Falkenmark argued that the ethical dimensions of water management required "an improved understanding, often site-specific, of the inter-dependencies between hydrological flows and ecosystem processes and dynamics," as well as "proper attention to the hungry and poor, upstream and downstream, to descendants, and to sites and habitats that need to be preserved."[72] The implementation of such a strategy relied upon consensus building between a variety of polities. A recent example of this kind of concordance is the $900 million USD agreement signed in 2015 between Jordan and Israel for managing the watershed between the Red Sea and the Dead Sea.[73]

Despite the relatively recent development of hydrosolidarity as a theoretical concept in the field of hydrology, I believe the term may be helpful in providing a framework for understanding how water functioned as a force for social cohesion in fifteenth-century Siena. Throughout its pre-modern history Siena faced seemingly endless problems locating a source of fresh water sufficient for its needs. According to the historians Duccio Balestracci and Gabriella Piccini, Sienese aquatic obsessions bordered on the fetishistic: "In Siena the love for water was

[71] The term "hydrosolidarity" was used by Falkenmark at a lecture delivered in Brussels, Belgium on 27 October 1998 and then followed by an article published in 1999, and remains an important ethical model in the field of hydrology. See Malin Falkenmark, "Forward to the Future: A Conceptual Framework for Water Dependence." *Ambio* 28.4 (1999): 356-61.
[72] See Malin Falkenmark, and C. Folke, "The Ethics of Socio-Ecohydrological Catchment Management: Towards Hydrosolidarity." *Hydrology and Earth Systems Sciences,* 6.1 (2002): 1-8.
[73] See Suleiman Al-Khalidi, "Jordan, Israel agree $900 million Red Sea – Dead Sea Project." *Reuters*. Thomson Reuters, 26 February 2015. Web. Accessed 22 November 2016.

so strong that in one respect it almost bordered on idolatry."[74] These preoccupations fostered the development of fantasies that abundant sources of water could be discovered within the city walls. Chief amongst these delusions was the propagation of local legends about the existence of a subterranean river known locally as *La Diana* believed to have flowed far beneath the city streets. The search for this mythical river even spawned spurious accounts of its discovery. As part of foundation legends asserting a direct lineage to the prophet Elijah, members of the Carmelite Order claimed to possess a divine ability to locate water that was analogous to Elijah's invocation of God's assistance in ending a drought. As if to substantiate this claim, Sienese members of the order dug a well in their orchard in the early Trecento and, upon striking water, proclaimed discovery of the fabled river.[75] Dante Alighieri cited the futility of the quest for *La Diana* when he wrote of a Sienese noblewoman named Sapìa who characterized her community as "those vain people that placed their hope in Talamone and who will lose more hope there than in finding *La Diana*."[76] Talamone was a harbor on the Tyrrhenian Sea that the Sienese had

[74] "a Siena fu così forte l'amore per l'acqua, in un rispetto che sconfinò quasi nell'idolatria." Duccio Balestracci and Gabriella Piccinni. *Siena nel Trecento: Assetto Urbano e Strutture Edilizie*. Firenze: Clusf, 1977, 145.

[75] On the Carmelite claim to be descended from Elijah, see Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 56 – 7. The Biblical account of Elijah invoking divine aid to end a drought may be found in 1 Kings 18: 41 – 45. An episode depicting Elijah's spring at Mount Carmel appears in the predella of Pietro Lorenzetti's altarpiece painted for San Niccolò del Carmine in 1329. For more on the altarpiece, see Joanna Cannon, "Pietro Lorenzetti and the History of the Carmelite Order." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 50 (1987): 18-28. The early origins of the well are unclear, but it was certainly built by 6 August 1330 or 1335, as indicated by an inscription found inside and by the financial help towards its construction by the Consiglio Generale in 1328. See Marco Pierini ed., *A Ritrovar La Diana*. Siena, 2001, 113 – 9, as cited in Machtelt Israëls, "Altars on the Street: The Wool Guild, the Carmelites and the Feast of Corpus Domini in Siena (1356–1456)." *Renaissance Studies* 20.2 (2006), 185.

[76] "Quella gente vana che spera in Talamone, e perderagli più di speranza ch' a trovar la Diana." Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy 2: Purgatorio,* Robin Kirkpatrick trans. London: Penguin, 2007, 122, canto 13, lines 151 – 153.

acquired in 1303 in the hopes of finally solving their longstanding need for a viable seaport.[77] Despite the Herculean efforts that went into making the port feasible, Talamone was situated too far from Siena and was not connected to it by safe roads.[78] The failure of the grandiose harbor project and the inability to locate *La Diana* had left the Sienese open to public ridicule by the Florentine poet.

In recent decades scholarly interest in exploring the relationship between hydraulic engineering and cultural production in Tuscany has increased.[79] Yet the ways in which a constant thirst for water may have shaped Sienese culture have to date not been adequately examined by art historians. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries Siena's communal government invested heavily in the construction of a waterworks infrastructure that would satisfy

[77] One may see a representation of the port of Talamone at the far-right of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of *Peace in the Countryside* in the Palazzo Pubblico's Sala della Pace where it is identified by an inscription.

[78] The project ended in failure as the port suffered a number of attacks. Ghibelline exiles attacked in 1312, followed by Genoese exiles in 1320. In 1326 King Robert of Naples laid siege to the port, followed by more attacks in 1327 and 1328. See William M. Bowsky, "Diplomacy and Foreign Relations," in *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena Under the Nine, 1287-1355*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, 175 – 176.

[79] An important foundational text was Giorgio Spini's investigation of the challenges posed by *il problema delle acque* in sixteenth-century Tuscany. See Giorgio Spini, *Architettura e Politica da Cosimo I a Ferdinando I.* Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1976. More recent studies include Daniela Lamberini and Maura Tamantini, *Le acque del giardino di Boboli*. Livorno, 2013; Emanuela Ferretti, '"Imminutus crevit". Il problema della regimazione idraulica dai documenti degli Ufficilia dei Fiumi di Firenze' in Carlo Travaglini ed., *La città e il fiume (secoli XIII-XIX)*. Rome, 2008, 105– 128; Emanuela Ferretti and Davide Turrini, *Navigare in Arno. Acque, uomini e marmi tra Firenze e il mare in Età Moderna*. Florence, 2010; Emanuela Ferretti, 'Dalle sorgente alle fontane: Cosimo I e 'acquedotto di Firenze', in Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos eds., *L'acqua, la pietra, il fuoco. Bartolomeo Ammannati scultore.* Florence, 2011) 263– 275; Emanuela Ferretti, *Acquedotti e fontane del Rinascimento in Toscana: Acqua, architettura e città al tempo di Cosimo I dei Medici*. Florence, 2016; Suzanne B. Butters, 'Princely Waters: An Elemental Look at the Medici Dukes', in Arturo Calzona and Daniela Lamberini eds., *La civiltà delle acque tra medioevo e rinascimento*. Florence, 2010, vol. 1, 389– 411; Richard Tuttle, *The Neptune Fountain in Bologna. Bronze, Marble and Water in the Making of a Papal City.* London, 2015; Anatole Tchikine, '"L'anima del giardino". Water, Gardens and Hydraulics in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Naples' in Michael G. Lee and Kenneth I. Helphand eds., *Technology and the Garden.* Washington, DC, 2014, 129– 153; and Felicia M. Else, *The Politics of Water in the Art and Festivals of Medici Florence: From Neptune Fountain to Naumachia.* London & New York: Routledge, 2018.

the city's needs. One result of the ever-expanding network was a progressive amalgamation of the city-state as a connected entity rather than a conglomeration of the independent neighborhoods known as *contrade*. As the population became increasingly reliant upon the regime's provision of this important public service the older collective identities of the *contrade* were gradually subordinated to attempts to form a more unified civic identity.

In what follows I will begin with an exploration of the significance of water in Siena before turning to the city's water supply network and fountains. I conclude with an analysis of the city's most magnificent public fountain: Jacopo della Quercia's *Fonte Gaia*. It will be shown that the public art and architecture associated with the Sienese waterworks played a fundamental role in state formation and in the attempts to create a cohesive Sienese identity.

"*Aque bone…pro honore, utilitate et pulcritudine civitatis":* The *bottini* and the first *Fonte Gaia*

> …the glens which cleave the sand-rock of Siena flow with living water; and still, if there be a hell for the forger in Italy, he remembers therein the sweet grotto and green wave of Fonte Branda...
>
> ~ John Ruskin, *Val d'Arno*, 1874[80]

John Ruskin was certainly not the first to closely associate Siena with abundant flows of water. The "forger in Italy" mentioned in the above quotation is a reference to a passage from the *Inferno* where Dante encountered a Florentine counterfeiter of coins named Adam. Punished for his sins by suffering eternal thirst, Adam longs for revenge and claims that he would gladly give up all the water in Siena's *Fonte Branda* if he could only just see once more those individuals who had encouraged him to forge florins with an impure alloy.[81] Indeed, when Dante discussed

[80] John Ruskin, *Val d'Arno*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1886, 25 – 26.
[81] "Ma s'io vedessi qui l'anima trista di Guido o d'Alessandro o di lor frate, per Fonte Branda non darei la vista…Io son per lor tra sì fatta famiglia: e' m'indussero a batter li fiorini ch'avevan tre carati di mondiglia" (Yet could I only glimpse those woeful souls – Guido or Sandro or their brother – here, I'd not exchange the Branda Spring for that…I'm only in this mess because of them. They led me on. I

Sienese culture in the *Divine Comedy* he often did so in reference to water. Yet considering Siena's geographical situation this tendency to portray the city in aquatic terms might seem rather odd. Its location set on a hilltop in a fairly dry part of Tuscany does not suggest an abundance of water flows. Lacking a major river or lake within its territory Siena had long relied upon an ingenious infrastructure that collected water from rain fed aquifers to supply its system of fountains. The earliest fountains were fed not by large aqueducts but by *bottini*, a relatively simple system of tunnels that took advantage of Siena's naturally occurring geology (Fig. 5). Unlike aqueducts the *bottini* not only transported water, they were the collection system itself. The upper stratum of soil in the region is made up of tuff, a soft and porous volcanic rock that is sometimes erroneously called tufa, while the layer below is composed of water resistant clay. The *bottini* were cut into the tuff just above the level of clay which formed the tunnel floor.[82] Rain water was gravity fed and would filter down to be collected by the *bottini* which then fed into local fountains. Over the centuries a vast subterranean network of *bottini* was constructed that linked the different *contrade* to one another. For Michael Kucher, who has studied Siena's water supply infrastructure at length, this system represented the "medieval roots of the modern networked city."[83]

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counterfeited coins so each contained three carats-worth of dross). Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno,* Robin Kirkpatrick trans. London: Penguin, 2006, 268, canto 30, lines 76 – 78.

[82] The early origins of the system of *bottini* are unclear. Anne Hanson notes a late fourth century CE inscription in the Villa Mattei in Rome that honoured a man who repaired and reactivated the aqueducts and fountains of Siena, suggesting that the infrastructure dates back at least to Siena's days as a Roman colony. See Anne Coffin Hanson, *Jacopo Della Quercia's Fonte Gaia.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965, 4 – 5. For more thorough accounts of the *bottini*, see Duccio Balestracci, *I Bottini: Acquedotti Medievali Senesi.* Siena: Edizioni Gielle, 1984, Michael Kucher, "Fountains and Aqueducts," in *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy: The Medieval Roots of the Modern Networked City*. New York: Routledge, 2005, 41-74, and Duccio Balestracci, Laura Vigni, and Armando Costantini, *La Memoria Dell'Acqua: I Bottini Di Siena*. Siena: Protagon: Comune di Siena, 2006.

[83] See the subtitle of Kucher's book, *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy.*

If the *bottini* were the hidden arteries that formed this interconnected system the fountains were the highly visible nodes of the network. Dotting the topography of Siena the monuments defined the geographical extent of the city.[84] The earliest Sienese fountains were composed of rectangular basins covered with vaulting and set into a wall or hillside.[85] They acted as gathering places to conduct business and to socialize. The most famous of the medieval fountains was the *Fonte Branda* (Fig. 6). The current structure dates to the thirteenth century but an earlier fountain existed on the site.[86] Structurally it is typical of Sienese fountains built at this time which were characterized by the hierarchical ordering of water basins set at different heights with water overflowing from one level to the next. This allowed for the maintenance of hygiene through the designation of specific sections of the fountain for particular usages. The highest basin was reserved for drinking water while lower levels were used to provide water for livestock and wash laundry.[87] The pointed arch used in the vaulting that covered the *Fonte Branda* was common to Sienese fountains constructed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and represented a "distinctive civic mode" of architecture in the city.[88] Similar designs

[84] Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci noted that at one point there were 77 fountains throughout the city, many of which have been destroyed. See Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena e i Loro Aquedotti: Note Storiche dalle Origini Fino Al 1555*. (2 vols.). Siena: Periccioli, 1906; 1992.

[85] Hanson notes that this type of fountain was common to the Greeks and Etruscans and suggested that the fountains of Siena had origins that preceded the Romans. See Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 4-5.

[86] Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena,*190 – 192.

[87] The basin from which animals would drink was known as an *abbeveratoi* while the laundry basin was a *lavatoio*. See Roberta J. Magnusson, "Users" in *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, Monasteries, and Waterworks After the Roman Empire*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001, 133 – 162.

[88] Ann Johns has studied the development of this civic mode of architecture in Siena, and suggested a connection between Cistercian architectural forms found in Burgundy and a nascent civic aesthetic in the commune. She argues that a "grafting of native building practices onto a Burgundian template" first took place at the Cistercian abbey of San Galgano located just outside of Siena, "in effect translating Cistercian architecture into a native idiom." A similar translation occurred once again when the "regionally informed architecture of San Galgano was transformed into a distinctive civic mode in Siena during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries." For Johns, "the clearest evidence of this transformation occurs in the communal water houses or *fonti*, the most visible of Siena's intricate waterworks. Built in the

appear at the *Fonte d'Ovile*, the *Fonte di Follonica*, and the *Fonte Nuova d'Ovile*, all of which were given their current forms between 1247 and 1303 (Figs. 7, 8, 9).

From the very beginning of the era of the rule of the Nine, Siena's governors worked to increase the supply of water through expansions to the *bottini* system. Communal statutes from the years 1282 – 1355 provide valuable insights into the government's conception of the civic significance of water by documenting the construction and maintenance of the city's supply system. The documents utilize a language that repetitively emphasizes the need for "copious" and "abundant" sources. In 1361 the Sienese *Consiglio Generale* emphasized the importance of the city's waterworks by noting that "water is undeniably one of the elements without which it is not possible to live."[89] A fire-fighting ordinance from the late thirteenth century cites the desire for "*habundantius habeat aquam*."[90] Another document refers to the benefits resulting from the ample supply of water provided by a fountain located in the quarter of Vallerozzi: "*cum copia fontium et aquarum habundantia decorent plurimum civitates et in civitate Senarum, loco dicto Vallerozzi, sit quedam vena aque bone et amene, statutum et ordinatum est pro honore, utilitate et pulcritudine civitatis*."[91] An ordinance relating to work done on the *Fontebecci* indicates that

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Duecento, the *fonti* provided a model for the construction of future civic projects." It was the involvement of the Cistercian monks at San Galgano, who were known as proficient hydraulic engineers, in the construction and maintenance of the *bottini* and fountains that Johns had seen as the conduit for these transformations. See Ann Johns, "Cistercian Gothic in a Civic Setting: The Translation of the Pointed Arch in Sienese Architecture, 1250 – 1350," in Timothy B. Smith and Judith B. Steinhoff eds. *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*. Surrey; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2012, 39 – 60. That the Cistercian Order was concerned with early modes of urban planning was a central argument of Terryl Kinder's study on Cistercian architecture. See Terryl Kinder, *Cistercian Europe: Architecture of Contemplation.* Cambridge: Erdmann Publishing, 2002.

[89] "…aqua est unum de quactuor elementis sine quibus vivere nullus potest." Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), *Consiglio generale*, 167, c.9v, February 19, 1361, as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena,* vol. 1, 220.

[90] "Ordinamenta Supra Igne Extinguendo", as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena,* vol. 2, 7.

[91] "Emendationes, Addictiones, Etc.", as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 20. Today the surviving fountain, constructed between 1296 and 1303, is known as the *Fonte Nuova di Ovile.*

the project was expected to result in "*copia et abundantia aque*."[92] Similar phrases repeatedly appear throughout the communal statutes.[93] In fact the concept of abundance eventually became synonymous with the state itself. In his history of Siena, Sigismondo Tizio (1458 – 1528) claimed that the name of the city derived from ancient Etruscan and Aramaic and signified "*abbondanza*."[94]

The late medieval records provide clear indications that the provision of large quantities of water was understood as essential to the smooth functioning of the Republic.[95] Supplying vast amounts of the liquid was thought to perform not only a practical function, it also beautified and honored the city while contributing to overall civic wealth and the welfare of its citizenry. While smaller districts and *contrade* could sometimes commission a fountain in their neighbourhoods, it was the central government that was responsible for the oversight of the entire *bottini* network.[96] In nearly every document relating to the system the fact that projects relating to the supply of water were paid "*expensis Comunis Senarum*" was emphasized.

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[92] "Quod Conductis Novus Fontis Beccii Debeat Micti Et Continuari Per Podium Montis Martini" as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 22.

[93] A document discussing work on the "Fonte Fiendo*"* contains the phrase "habundantia aque." See "De Fonte Fiendo In Pede Vinee Domini Bindi Crozzi Extra Portam De Uliviera", as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 24. Similarly, a project relating to the "Fonte Vallis Montonis" suggests that the fountain will provide "abundantiori aquarum." See "Pro Fonte Vallis Montonis Et Pro Aqua Calida*",* as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 37. Another statute describes work that will result in water "in magna quantitate." See "De Venis Respirantibus In Fosso Castellaccie Nove De Camullia", as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 27. One ordinance that contains multiple citations of the phrase "aque habundantia" is titled "Quomodo In Civitate Senarum Aque Habundantia Habeatur", as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 31.

[94] "Il suo nome derivasse (qui lo riconosciamo davvero) dall'etrusco e dall'arameo, e che significasse abbondanza." Paolo Piccolomini, *La Vita e l'Opera di Sigismondo Tizio (1458-1528).* Siena: L. Lazzeri, 1903, 151. The passage cited by Piccolomini is from Sigismondo Tizio, *Historiae Senenses* (ca. 1528), MS. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, vol. 1, fol. 214v.

[95] James Beck previously noted that "an ample supply of water for the use of the public was one of the most visible and appreciated accomplishments of any Sienese government, and must have been, in the final analysis, a political necessity." See Beck, "Catalog 10. The Fonte Gaia," in *Jacopo Della Quercia*, vol. 1, 166.

[96] Even when smaller neighbourhoods decided to commission a fountain the project still needed to be given permission by the central government, which often also contributed funds to such projects. This

The *bottini* system made the city reliant upon rainfall and highly susceptible to drought. With Siena's growing wealth, plans were made beginning in the 1330s to construct a massive *bottino maestro* that would bring water from springs located to the north near the source of the Staggia river up the hillsides and into the Piazza del Campo itself. On 16 December 1334 a master stoneworker named Jacopo di Vanni Ugolini was commissioned to begin work on the project.[97] Promises were made to complete the system in three years but the project proved to be expensive and slow going. By December of 1339 the aqueduct was still far from complete and a decision was made to increase funding and to hire two more masters to assist Jacopo.[98] By 1341 a new committee of three men was hired and even more funds were diverted to the project.[99] Finally, in early 1343, water began to flow into the new fountain in the Piazza del Campo.[100]

Not much is known about the appearance of the original *Fonte Gaia*.[101] Yet we do know a number of characteristics set it apart from the other fountains in the city. It was supplied by the

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was the case in 1470 when the district of Abbadia Nuova petitioned the office of the *Ornato* for funds to construct a new fountain where a column topped by a gilded wolf was also to be erected. For more on this project see Fabrizio Nevola, "Revival or Renewal: Defining Civic Identity in Fifteenth-Century Siena," in Marc Boone and Peter Stabel eds. *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe.* Leuven-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000, 123 -124.

[97] Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 6, and doc. 82; and Kucher, "Fountains and Aqueducts," in *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy,* 71.

[98] The two masters were Lando di Pietro, a goldsmith, and Agostino di Giovanni. The council also decided to commit an additional 6000 florins to the project at this time. See Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 6, and docs. 85, 86.

[99] The taxes from Grosseto were assigned to cover the expenses of the committee. See Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 6, and doc. 87.

[100] Fabio Bargagli-Petrucci cited a marginal note in the expense account of one of the books for the Biccherna that stated "sia memoria che venne l'acchua nel Campo domenicha, cinque di gennaio anni Mcccxlij." See Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena,* vol. 1, 216, note 6. As noted by Hanson, the modern date would be 5 January 1343. See Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 7, note 4.

[101] Michael Kucher has noted that since this fountain was not built into a spring bank it almost certainly did not have to be covered as most of the other fountains in Siena were by large ogival arched loggias. See Kucher, "Fountains and Aqueducts," in *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy*, 70. The origins of the name "Fonte Gaia" are unclear. Anne Hanson claimed that the name had arisen from the joyful celebrations that were held upon the completion of the project to bring water into the Piazza del Campo in January of 1343. See Hanson, *Jacopo Della Quercia's Fonte Gaia,* 8. James Beck felt that the name had arisen in the fourteenth century "presumably because of the spirited movement of the water." See Beck,

purpose-built *bottino maestro* that extended far into the countryside north of the city and provided enough pressure to allow the fountain terminus to be placed on a high elevation in the Piazza del Campo. By all accounts the fountain was uncovered and completely open to the air. Built at the commercial and ceremonial centre of the city it was designed solely as a source of drinking water unlike the other fountains which also allowed for industrial usages.[102]

At some point during the second quarter of the fourteenth century an ancient statue, presumably a nude Venus, was unearthed in Siena.[103] An account written by the Florentine artist Lorenzo Ghiberti just over a century later suggests that the sculpture had been so admired by the citizenry that the governors decided to place the figure at the fountainhead of the first *Fonte Gaia*.[104] From the very beginning of its history, then, the sculpted female form was closely associated with the fountain in the Piazza del Campo. It was an arrangement that recalled that of

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"Jacopo della Quercia's Artistic Style," in *Jacopo Della Quercia*, vol. 1, 67. For an account of the documented history of the first fountain in the Piazza del Campo see Hanson, "The History of the First Fonte Gaia," in Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia, 1 – 9.

[102] Kucher, "Fountains and Aqueducts," in *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy*, 71.

[103] Aldo Cairolo and Enzo Carli provide the discovery date of 1325: "durante alcuni lavori eseguiti scavando le fondamenta di un edificio nel castellare dei Malavolti, venne alla luce, nel 1325, una Venere Anadiomene." See Aldo Cairolo and Enzo Carli, *Il Palazzo Pubblico di Siena*. Roma: Editalia, 1963, 46. It should be noted that Cairolo and Carli did not provide a source, however, and theirs is by no means a secure dating. Alessandro Lisini, for instance, gives a discovery date of "circa il 1345." See Alessandro Lisini, *Miscellanea storica senese*, vol. 5, Siena: Enrico Torrini, 1898, 175.

[104] "…fu trovata nell città di Siena, della quale ne feciono grandissima festa et dagli intendenti fu tenuta maravigliosa opera, et nella basa era scripto el nome del maestro, el quale era excellentissimo maestro, el nome suo fu Lisippo et aveva in sulla gamba in sulla quale ella si posava uno alfino. Questa non vidi se non disegnata mano d'uno grandissimo pictore della città di Siena, di quale ebbe nome Ambruogio Lorenzetti; la quale teneva con grandissima diligentia uno frate antichissimo dell'ordine de' frati di Certosa; el frate fu orifice et ancora el padre, chiamato per nome frate Iacopo et fu disegnatore et forte si dilettava dell'arte della scultura et cominciommi a narrare come essa statua fu trovata, faccendo uno fondamento, ove sono le case de'Malavolti, come tutti gli intendenti et dotti dell'arte della scultura et orefici et pictori corsono a vedere questa statua di tanta maraviglia et di tanta arte. Ciascuno lodava mirabilmente; e grandi picto[ri] che erano in quello tempo in Siena a ciascuno pareva grandissima perfection fosse in essa. Et con molto honore la collocorono in su la loro fonte come cosa molto egregia. Tutti consorsono a porla con grandissima festa et honore et muroronla magnificamente sopra esse fonte; la quale in detto luogo poco regnò in su essa." Lorenzo Ghiberti, "Teoria della vision, anatomia, teoria della proporzione," in Lorenzo Bartoli ed., *I Commentarii: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, II, I, 333*. Firenze: Giunti, 1998, 108 – 109.

the *Fontana Maggiore* in Perugia, completed in 1278 by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano as part of a broader program of civic improvements (Fig. 10).[105] Located in the piazza between the Duomo and the Palazzo Comunale, the *Fontana Maggiore* consists of two sculpted marble basins topped by a third bronze basin. The upper marble vessel possesses twenty-four sculptures representing figures from history, myth, and allegory while the lower is decorated with a series of marble reliefs depicting scenes expanding on these themes.[106] Crowning the bronze basin was a central sculptural group composed of three nymphs in the form of caryatids (Fig. 11).[107] With one arm placed upon their hips in a jaunty fashion the bronze figures use their other hand to balance a vessel upon their heads which functioned as the terminus for the aqueduct. The drapery worn by these figures clings to their bodies to reveal the feminine form underneath, seemingly drenched by the water that gurgled forth from the vessel and poured down their slender forms.

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[105] The Perugian communal government decided to embark upon a program of urban amelioration in 1275 – 1276. Along with a new aqueduct and fountain to bring water to the city center, these improvements also included new residences for the government, paved roads, and a new cathedral. See Trevor Dean, *The Towns of Italy in the Later Middle Ages*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000, 6–7.

[106] The original arrangement of the fountain's iconography is unknown. According to John White's hypothetical reconstruction the fountain had four main axes defined by the figures of Eulistes, the founder of the city (north), August Perugia (south), Rome (west) and Saint John the Baptist (east). Between these four were twenty other figures including the patron saints of the city, two of the city's officials in 1278, and Old Testament kings and prophets. The reliefs from the lower tier represented encyclopaedic subjects such as the seven liberal arts, the months of the Year, scenes from Aesop's fables and the Old Testament, as well as mythological figures including Romulus, Remus and Rhea Silvia. See John White, "The Reconstruction of Nicola Pisano's Perugia Fountain." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 70-83. The entire programme of the fountain can be seen as embodying the forms of knowledge important to medieval Perugia through references to its religion, history, government, and economy. See Carrie E. Benes, *Urban Legends: Civic Identity and the Classical Past in Northern Italy, 1250-1350*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011, 124. For more on the *Fontana Maggiore* see Francesco Cavallucci, *La Fontana Maggiore di Perugia: Voci e Suggestioni di una Comunità Medievale*. Ponte San Giovanni: Quattroemme, 1993; Valeria Cenci, *La Fontana Maggiore di Perugia: Restauri e Metodi Conservativi.* Citta di Castello: Petruzzi, 2006; Francesco Vignaroli, *Fontana Vivace: la Fontana Maggiore di Perugia.* Firenze: Società Ed, Fiorentina, 2012; and Ittai Weinryb, *The Bronze Object in the Middle Ages: Sculpture, Material, Making.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 191 – 198.

[107] The original bronze sculpture of the three nymphs has been removed to the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria. The artist responsible for casting the bronze sculpture is a figure known as Rosso (Rubeus). See Elvio Lunghi, ""Rubeus me fecit": Scultura in Umbria alla fine del Duecento," in *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 2 (1991): 9 - 32; and Weinryb, *The bronze object in the Middle Ages*, 191 – 198.

The *Fontana Maggiore* was part of a systematic effort on the part of the Perugian communal government to legitimize and consolidate its authority through a program of civic beautification and amelioration.[108] The Sienese under the Nine had conceived of the *Fonte Gaia* in a similar manner and the decision to place the sculpture of Venus at the fountain in the Piazza del Campo may have been inspired by the Perugian precedent of the three nymphs. Yet the use of the eroticized female form also represents a continuation of an earlier tradition in public art commissioned under the Nine. In the Palazzo Pubblico Ambrogio Lorenzetti depicted the allegorical figure of *Pax* in his mural of *Buon Governo* (1338 – 40) as a seductive and sensual Venus-like figure (Fig. 12).[109] Scantily clad in a nearly transparent white garment made of a loose-fitting fabric revealing much of the curvature of the body beneath, *Pax* reclines upon a sumptuous pillow that has been placed upon a suit of armor. For Jean Campbell this alluring image allegorized peace "not simply as the absence of discord but rather as an active agent of the goal she represents."[110] The language of seduction adopted by Lorenzetti's figure invited the

[108] Benes, *Urban Legends*, 118 – 120, and Brendan Cassidy, *Politics, Civic Ideals and Sculpture in Italy c. 1240-1400*. London: Harvey Miller, 2007, 90.

[109] Cynthia Polecritti began her analysis of Bernardino of Siena's peacemaking activities by stating that "possibly the most seductive figure in all of Sienese painting is the figure of "Pax" in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's "Buon Governo." Unlike the stalwart postures of her more vigilant (and virginal) sisters on the right side of the fresco, her body reclines luxuriously on an embroidered cushion, one arm supporting her pretty head while the other negligently holds a branch of olives. Pax is magnificently at ease: transparent, clinging drapery defines the curves of breast and thigh, her knees are slightly apart, her forearms exposed. Most of the other allegorical figures stare directly at the viewer in a stern warning, but she gazes at the wall on the viewer's right, towards Ambrogio's companion fresco of Good Government in the City. Clearly she finds nothing to worry about in this ideal Siena where trade and festivity flourish. Pax has not a care in the world." Cynthia Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: San Bernardino of Siena and His Audience.* PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, Ann Arbor: UMI (8916834), 1988, 1.

[110] C. J. Campbell, "The City's New Clothes: Ambrogio Lorenzetti and the Poetics of Peace." *The Art Bulletin* 83.2 (2001), 240.

beholder to partake in the pleasurable experience of peace.[111] The installation of the Venus at the *Fonte Gaia* may have been intended to perform a similar alluring function.

In Siena the political significance of the *Fonte Gaia* was intensified not only by the fact that it was located within the Piazza del Campo, the political, commercial, and ceremonial heart of the city, but also because of the importance of the resource of water itself within the fabric of the commune.[112] The continuous involvement of the central government in overseeing the construction of the original *Fonte Gaia,* and the vast expenditures involved, suggest that the Nine had keenly perceived that with the flow of water came the flow of power. The installation of the Venus upon the fountainhead of what was one of the city's most significant public works had represented a clear triumph for the regime.

This self-laudatory act was to be short-lived. According to Ghiberti, not long after the installation of the Venus at the *Fonte Gaia* the Sienese became distrustful of the pagan sculpture

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[111] Examining the group of dancers occupying the central foreground of the cityscape in Lorenzetti's fresco, Campbell remarked upon their affective potential noting that it was through their becoming a "metaphor that encompasses not just an idea but also an experience of peace," that the joyful dancers invited the beholder to participate in the pleasantries of a shared commonwealth. Campbell states that the dancers "do not simply stand at the intersection between the viewer and a lost commonwealth in nature; they visually animate that intersection. See Campbell, "The City's New Clothes," 241 - 255. The eroticism of the dancers, as Campbell points out, had been previously examined by Jonathan Alexander. See Jonathan J.G. Alexander, "Dancing in the Streets," in Essays in Honor of Lilian M.C. Randall, special issue of *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 147-62, esp. 148-50.

[112] Deborah Kawsky argued that the fountain had charged ideological implications resulting from the lack of a significant natural water source in the vicinity of the city. See Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition,* 58, note 57. Anne Hanson stated the pressing need for water in existential terms: "Siena is located high on a Tuscan hill without a river to provide water for developing her industries and supplying her everyday needs. From her earliest days, the city had to use artificial means of collecting the water needed for her very existence." Hanson, *Jacopo Della Quercia's Fonte Gaia,* 4. William Bowsky had similarly noted that "throughout its history, Siena had suffered from the lack of navigable rivers and a water supply sufficiently generous to support major industrial development, particularly that of the cloth industry." See Bowsky, "Resources: Natural and Human," in *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena Under the Nine, 1287-1355*, 5. According to Michael Kucher, the demand for water placed the supply system "among the pre-eminent public works and city services, on a par with the defense of its inhabitants. Its centrality lent water and the architecture related to it a symbolic value." Kucher, *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy*, 17.

and blamed it for losses in a battle against Florence.[113] A decision was made to remove the figure. Ghiberti claimed that it was subsequently smashed to pieces and buried in Florentine territory. Documents held in Siena's state archives corroborate some portions of Ghiberti's account. A record of council deliberations dated 7 November 1357 proclaims "…the marble statue presently placed at the Fonte in the Campo shall be removed as soon as possible given that it is a dishonorable sight; and the removal of this omen shall please the Twelve (*Duodecim*)."[114]

Despite Ghiberti's attempts to portray the destruction of the Venus figure solely as the deed of a superstitious people incapable of appreciating a beautiful work of art, there was likely much more to the iconoclastic act. For the removal of the sculpture also carried clear political connotations that would not have been lost on the Sienese citizenry. On 27 March 1355, a popular uprising had broken out during a visit by the Holy Roman emperor Charles IV. Amid the

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[113] "Avendo la terra moltissime aversità di guerra con Fiorentini et essendo nel consiglio ragunati el fiore de' loro cittadini, si levò uno cittadino et parlò sopra a questa statua in questo tenore: 'Signori cittadini, avendo considerato dapoi noi trovamo questa statua, sempre siamo arrivati male, considerato quanto la ydolatria è proibita alla nostra fede, doviamo credere tutte le aduersità noi abbiamo, Iddio ce le manda per li nostri errori. Et veggiallo per effecto che da poi noi honoramo detta statua, sempre siamo iti di male in peggio. Certo mi rendo che per insino noi la terremo in sul nostro terreno, sempre arriveremo male. Sono uno di quelli consiglerei essa si ponesse et tutta si lacerasse et spezassesi et mandassesi a soppellire in sul terreno de' Fiorentini.' Tutti d'achordo raffermarono el detto del loro cittadino et così missono in essecutione, e fu soppelllita in su el nostro terreno." Lorenzo Ghiberti, "Teoria della vision, anatomia, teoria della proporzione," in Lorenzo Bartoli ed., *I Commentarii*, 108 – 109.

[114] "Pro statua fontis Campi. Item quod statua marmoreal ad presens in Fonte Campi posita, quam citius potest tollatur et inde eam inhonestam videatur; et fiat ex inde et de ea quod ominis Duodecim videbitur et placebit." ASS, *Concistoro Deliberazioni*, ad annum, f. 9, 7 November 1357, as cited in Alessandro Lisini, *Miscellanea storica senese*, vol. 5, Siena: Enrico Torrini, 1898, 176. The English translation is mine. At some point following the removal of this sculpture, the fountain was decorated with a painted image of the Virgin. This image is mentioned in a document dating to December 31 1394. See Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 284. Chiara Scappini has argued that the painted image was likely a fresco, which might seem an odd choice for decorating a fountain given the medium's susceptibility to water damage. Yet, as Scappini points out, a relevant precedent for such a decorative scheme in Sienese territory was to be found at the Fonte dell'Abbondanza (1265) in Massa Marittima which Siena had conquered in 1335 where a late thirteenth-century fresco that adorned the fountain was uncovered in 2000 during conservation. For more on this fresco see Chiara Scappini, "The Early History of the Fonte Gaia," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times.* PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, Ann Arbor: UMI (3494799), 2011*,* 59 – 60 and George Piero Ferzoco, *Il Murale di Massa Marittima/The Massa Marittima Mural.* Firenze: Consiglio regionale della Toscana, 2005, 32-35.

tumult the commercial and financial centers of the palace of the Mercanzia and the tax office of the Biccherna were sacked, a number of archival records were destroyed, and the regime of the Nine collapsed.[115] In its place a fragile new government composed of twelve governors (the *Dodici*) drawn from the leadership of the twelve guilds of international trade was hastily established.[116] The fact that the council deliberations of November 1357 explicitly stated that the removal of the "dishonorable" (*inhonestam*) sculpture would have pleased the Twelve should therefore not be ignored. The destruction of a highly visible public monument that had been so closely associated with the government of the Nine was nothing less than a deliberate act of forgetting on the part of the new regime.[117] Indeed, the destruction of public monuments has long been, and remains to this day, a preferred technique for proclaiming and legitimizing regime change.[118] The effectiveness of this sort of *damnatio memoriae* on the part of the *Dodici* is

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[115] For more on the spring of 1355 uprising and the fall of the *Nove*, see Pietro Rossi, *Carlo IV di Lussemburgo e La Repubblica di Siena (1355-1369).* Siena: Stab. graf. S. Bernardino, 1930; and Bowsky, "Epilogue," in *A Medieval Italian Commune,* 299 – 314. For the involvement of the Sienese guilds in the uprising, see Victor Rutenburg, "La Vie et la Lutte des Ciompi de Sienne." *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 20.1 (1965): 95-109.

[116] For a discussion of the composition of the regime of the twelve and its demise, see Wainwright, "Conflict and popular government in the 14th century Siena: il Monte dei Dodici 1355-1368," 57 – 80.

[117] Michael Kucher also suggested a political motivation behind the sculpture's destruction: "Another possible reason for its removal could have been an attempt by the Twelve, who succeeded the Nine in 1355, to "dethrone" one of the icons of the Nine and to thereby consolidate their power by putting their stamp on the Campo and its fountain, which it will be remembered could be seen from the windows of the Public Palace." See Kucher, "Fountains and Aqueducts," in *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy*, 71. These sentiments were echoed by Chiara Scappini, who noted "the statue's removal may have been intended to symbolize the government's transformation." See Scappini, "The Early History of the Fonte Gaia," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times,* 56. It is interesting to note that during the same year of 1357 the *Dodici* also decided to abandon the project that had been initiated by the *Nove* to construct what would have been the largest cathedral in Western Europe at the time.

[118] A recent and highly visible instance of employing iconoclasm as part of an attempt to legitimize regime change was the toppling of the massive sculpture of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad's Firdos Square on Wednesday, 9 April 2003 by invading American forces. For accounts of this highly choreographed event see Gerhard Richter, "Enduring Freedom: War, Corporate Television, and the Delusion of the Delusion." *Qui Parle* 14.1 (2003), 81-82, and David Levi Strauss, "Fallen Image." *Aperture*.172 (2003): 10. During the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 a similar fate befell a large number of Soviet monuments. For more on these events see Charles Merewether, "The Rise and Fall of Monuments." *Grand Street*. 68 (1999): 182-91. For more on the iconoclastic destruction of monuments in relation to

perhaps best evidenced by the fact that we have very little knowledge of the appearance of the original fourteenth-century fountain.

A new *reggimento* and the poetics of water in fifteenth-century Siena

The collapse of the regime of the Nine ushered in a lengthy period of internal dissent. Growing fissures appeared in Siena's political structures as a series of regimes comprised of competing factions rose to power in the succeeding years weakening the city's ability to resist exogenous threats.[119] In 1389 the Sienese sought protection from Milan due to the danger of a military invasion by Florence. The result was a period of Milanese domination culminating in the city's formal submission to Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1399.[120] In the power vacuum that followed the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402 Siena was able to reassert its independence. Members of the previously competing *monti* of the *Nove*, the *Popolari*, and *Riformatori* banded together to form a new coalitional regime.[121] The complicated structure of this government meant that political consensus was repeatedly met with resistance at the local level in the form of

regime change see Joseph Koerner, "On Monuments." *Res: Anthropology and aesthetics* 67-68 (2016/2017), 7 – 8.

[119] The *Dodici* regime that replaced the *Nove* lasted until September 1368 when members of the nobility attempted to institute a new oligarchy. This new government lasted only a month before an insurrection led by popular factions (the *Popolari*) occurred in October of that year, sending the noble families into exile. At this point a new coalition composed of five reformers (the *Riformatori*) drawn from the *Popolari*, three members of the *Nove,* and four members from the *Dodici* took over. This government lasted only until December of 1368 when once again the *Popolari* attempted to institute a new regime comprised of fifteen *Riformatori*. This government failed within a month and the previous coalition of *Riformatori, Nove* and *Dodici* was restored and ruled until 1385 when a new coalition combining members of the *Nove*, the *Dodici* and a group of *Popolari* briefly came to power. For more on this period see Elena Brizio, *Siena nel secondo Trecento.* For more on the *Riformatori,* see Valerie Wainwright, "The Testing of a Popular Sienese Regime," 107-70.

[120] For more on this phase of the Visconti period, see Maria Assunta Ceppari, "La signoria di Gian Galeazzo Visconti," in Roberto Barzanti, Giuliano Catoni, and Mario De Gregorio eds. *Storia Di Siena*. Siena: Edizioni Alsaba, 1995, vol. 1, 321-326.

[121] Members of the earlier *Dodici* government and the nobility were excluded from positions of political power within this new regime, although they were allowed to participate in administrative positions. For more on the reformed republican government following 1404 see Ascheri and Ciampoli, *Siena e Il Suo Territorio Nel Rinascimento*, 22-56, Fusai, *La Storia Di Siena Dalle Origini al 1559*, 253 – 260, and Ascheri and Pertici, "La Situazione Politica Senese del Secondo Quattrocento (1456-79)," 995.

factional infighting. Summarizing the history of Siena's peculiar and complex system of the *monti*, the sixteenth-century Florentine historian Benedetto Varchi called the city "a jumbled state (*guazzabuglio*), as they say, and a confusion of republics, rather than a well-ordered and structured republic."[122] The new regime was constantly balancing concerns with respecting Siena's ancient system of overlapping and often competing jurisdictions with the implementation of new initiatives aimed at constructing and asserting a cohesive central government.

As part of these attempts to unite the population the regime turned once again towards investing in public infrastructure, and in particular towards improving the city's water supply system. It is important to note that during the fifteenth century a relationship to antiquity was established through the physical presence of Siena's ancient *bottini* as much as it was through the humanist interest in constructing Roman foundation legends. For the prowess of the ancients in the field of hydraulic engineering was seen as a living tradition in Siena's own water management infrastructure.[123] Writing in the 1970s, Lynn White claimed that the technological advancements that took place in Quattrocento Siena had been underappreciated:

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[122] "…la città di Siena essere un guazzabuglio stata, come si dice, ed una confusione di repubbliche, piuttosto che bene ordinata e instituita repubblica." Benedetto Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*. Firenze: Spese della Società Editrice delle Storie del Nardi e del Varchi, 1843, vol. 1, Book 6, 453. See also Judith Hook, *Siena: A City and its History*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979, 161.

[123] Paolo Galluzzi has characterized fifteenth-century Siena as a "machine culture" which developed largely around a combination of antiquarian research and the advancements in engineering and applied mathematics made by the masters in charge of maintaining the *bottini*. See Paolo Galluzzi, "Le macchine senesi: Ricerca antiquaria, spirito di innovazione e cultura del territorio," in *Prima di Leonardo: Cultura delle Macchine a Siena nel Rinascimento*. Milano: Electa, 1991, 15 – 44. See also Nicholas Adams, "Architecture for Fish: The Sienese Dam on the Bruna River: Structures and Designs, 1468 - Ca. 1530." *Technology and culture* 25 (1984): 768-97, and Mauro Mussolin, "Rebuilding the Church of Santo Spirito," in A. Lawrence Jenkens, *Renaissance Siena: Art in Context*. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2005, 104. The perception of engineering as a field on par with the liberal arts in Siena predated similar sentiments found in Roberto Valturio's 1472 treatise *De re militari* written for Sigismondo Malatesta at Rimini, wherein Valturio attempted to elevate the status of military engineering to the level of the liberal arts. See Roberto Valturio, *De re militari libris XII*, Paris, 1872. For more on Roberto's envisioning of engineering as a liberal art, see Bertrand Gille, *Les Ingénieurs de la Renaissance*. Paris: Hermann, 1964.

> In the fifteenth century, however, the technology of Italy was even greater than that of Germany, yet its records are little known…From the 1440s until the 1480s, Siena, which was best represented by Mariano di Jacopo detto il Taccola and by Francesco di Giorgio, seems to have been the chief source of innovation.[124]

Key to these developments was the constant preoccupation with water on the part of local engineers. Such an obsession appears repeatedly throughout the work of the artist-engineer Mariano di Jacopo, also known as Il Taccola.[125] Taccola was aware of the classical tradition in hydraulic engineering and even referred to himself as the "Archimedes of Siena" as part of an attempt to connect his persona to the achievements of antiquity. [126] Begun in 1419, Taccola's

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[124] Lynn White, Jr., "The Flavor of Early Renaissance Technology," in Bernard S. Levy ed., *Developments in the Early Renaissance*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972, 40.

[125] Taccola's background is typically Sienese in that it included both craft and notarial training. This resulted in his working a variety of political and administrative positions in the city in addition to his work as an artist. His artistic background is indicated by commissions to carve heads for wooden choir stalls and the sculptures he produced for the cathedral. He was nominated for admission to the guild of judges and notaries in 1417 and served as secretary of the *Domus Sapientiae*, a hospital and student lodging that served as a temporary residence for foreign visitors. When his position at the *Domus* ended in 1434, Taccola became a *stimatore*, one who tallied completed work at building sites, assigned wages, and estimated the amounts of materials needed, for Siena. In 1441 he was appointed *viaio*, superintendent of the streets, fountains, and bridges in the city. See Long, "Authorship on the Mechanical Arts in the Last Scribal Age," 111. For a summary of Taccola's career, see Taccola, *De ingeneis: Liber primus leonis, liber secundus draconis, addenda; Books I and II, On Engines, and Addenda (The Notebook)*, vol. 1: 11 – 15; and Prager and Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola and His Book De Ingeneis*, 1 – 21. Taccola and Jacopo della Quercia had been good friends in life with the sculptor acting as godfather to Mariano's daughter Alba. See Prager and Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola and His Book De Ingeneis,* 9. As noted by James Beck, this was not the only evidence of a strong bond between Taccola and della Quercia. When Jacopo was elected *Operaio* of the Sienese Duomo in 1435 Taccola acted as a witness in a legal document. See Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena, *Deliberazioni*, E, 5, fol. 14, as cited in Beck, "The Historical "Taccola" and Emperor Sigismund in Siena," 319. In his role as *Operaio*, Jacopo in turn commissioned Taccola to carve forty-two "testicuiole di legname" for the choir of the cathedral. Payments for this work were made on 20 June 1438. See Archive of the Opera del Duomo of Siena, *Debitori e Creditori*, 1421 – 1438, fol. 175, as cited in Beck, "The Historical "Taccola" and Emperor Sigismund in Siena," 319.

[126] At the beginning of his 1449 treatise *De machinis*, Taccola declared "I, Ser Mariano Taccola, also known as the Archimedes of the magnificent and powerful city of Siena, have not designed by my hand these engines, machines and weapons to be used against Christians, but have invented, composed and designed them to be used against the infidel and barbarous peoples." (Ego autem Ser Marianus Taccole alias Archimedes vocatus de magnificha et potente civitate Senarum non designavi ex mani mea ista ingienia machinas et tormenta eam operante contra cristianos / sed inveni composui ac designavi ut veniant contra infideles et barbarichas gientes). Mariano di Jacopo Taccola, *De machinis: The Engineering Treatise of 1449,* Gustina Scaglia ed. and trans. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1971 vol. 1:18, 59–60. The English translation is mine.

treatise *De Ingeneis* contains a number of drawings done in black ink that reveal a keen interest in hydraulics.[127] Folio 38v of the manuscript depicts a type of screw pump suggesting that Taccola had not adopted his *soprannome* haphazardly but was in fact familiar with the concept of the Archimedean screw (Fig. 13). On another folio a drawing of a lock demonstrates a clear knowledge of hydrodynamics as the artist produced curly swirls to indicate the rushing waters of the lower outlet as compared to the more placid surface of the lake above, a phenomenon resulting from increased water pressure (Fig. 14).

In fact Taccola's drawings are often characterized by a sort of aquatic poetics that suggests a fixation upon the movement of water, its production of whirls and eddies as the speed of flow increases or decreases, its displacement from one place to another, and its control via novel machinery. In an image of a wind operated draw-well wavy lines establish a visual equivalency between the blown hair of a wind god at the upper right of the folio and the flowing streams of water that appear on the opposite side of the page (Fig. 15). Other artists at this time were similarly exploring the possible relationships between cascading heads of hair and water

[127] Pamela Long noted that "Taccola's pictorial treatises reflect the concerns and problems of the Sienese state. He illustrates ships, harbors, and defensive and offensive technologies of naval warfare, reflecting Siena's long-term efforts to control Tuscan rivers and to develop a commercial port at Talamone, on the Tuscan sea. He depicts pumps, dams, siphons, aqueducts, and other water-controlling devices – a response to the perennial Sienese problem of water supply, which was insufficient for the needs of the population and local industries." See Long, "Authorship on the Mechanical Arts in the Last Scribal Age," 112. See also Prager and Scaglia, *Mariano Taccola and His Book De Ingeneis*, 3. The genesis of *De ingeneis* covered a thirty-year period. Around 1419 Taccola began making technical drawings and notations which eventually went into the composition of book 1. During the 1420s he completed book 2, and by 1433 books 3 and 4 were finished. Revisions were made during the 1430s and the treatise was complete by 1449. The autograph copies of books 1 and 2 are located in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, in Codex Latinus 197, fols. 1 – 29, 30 – 137. The autograph copies of books 3 and 4 are located in the Biblioteca Nazionale, in Codex Palatinus 766, fols. 27 – 76. See Lon R. Shelby, "Mariano Taccola and His Books on Engines and Machines." *Technology and Culture* 16.3 (1975), 467.

flows, a phenomenon that the art historian Emanuele Lugli has specifically linked to Taccola's literature on water management.[128]

Sometimes Taccola's inventions appear more whimsical than practical as in a drawing of a soldier straddling a swimming horse (Fig. 16). Two flotation devices made of inflated animal skins are strapped to either side of the saddle in order to increase buoyancy. Despite the thoughtful provision of protective coverings to prevent water from entering the horse's ears the animal appears to be in a high level of distress as water foams and splashes furiously around its front hooves. At other times the nature of the concept being depicted is not entirely clear, as on folio 94v where a central image depicting a siphon carrying water over a bridge is dwarfed by a landscape in which water flows in all directions (Fig. 17). Images such as this suggest that we should not understand Taccola's drawings purely along technical lines, as mere demonstrations of feats of engineering. Rather, on this folio the artist seems to indulge in visualizing nature's copiousness, as though the practice of drawing itself could supply the capacity to generate bountiful flows of the life-giving liquid.

Taccola's drawings provide an indication of the powerful fascination with water in Siena, an interest fostered precisely by the lack of abundant, naturally occurring flows in the city. The constant need to provide ample supplies of the resource shaped many levels of Siena's cultural output. A poetics of water characterizes Taccola's illustrations of his theories on hydraulic engineering, as the artist-engineer revelled in producing flowing swirls, whorls, and waves. As its greatest minds were tasked with inventing new ways to secure the precious resource, water

[128] "Around the 1430s, when the sculptor Donatello modelled putti whose hair streams in all directions, as well as young men with beautifully chiselled locks, Mariano di Jacopo (often known as 'Taccola') wrote *De ingeneis* [*On Engines*], a treatise on siphons, cisterns, and canals." See Emanuele Lugli, "Watery Manes. Reversing the Stream of Thought about Quattrocento Italian Heads," *Internet Archaeology* 42. http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.42.6.11, accessed 29 May 2017. The drawings and writings of Leonardo da Vinci reveal a similar fascination with water.

became an element around which the Sienese enthusiastically developed technology for its collection, retention, and diversion.[129] This was the culture in which Jacopo della Quercia would develop his plan for a new fountain in the Piazza del Campo.

Jacopo della Quercia's *Fonte Gaia*

The statutes relating to the maintenance and construction of fountains and aqueducts in Siena contain a gap beginning in 1355 that ends only in 1403.[130] This lacuna suggests that during the period of political upheaval and foreign occupation work on the water supply system had slowed or halted altogether. A document dating to August of 1406 provides further confirmation that the city's aqueducts and fountains had indeed fallen into disrepair due to neglect. The general council appointed three "valiant citizens" to address the "negligence of the past" with the fear being that continued inattention to the water supply system would place the city at risk of being "damaged and shamed."[131] Once again the emphasis fell upon the creation of an abundant flow of water. In the same year, the Consistory elected six citizens to overlook the maintenance

[129] The links between advancements in Sienese engineering and water management lasted throughout the century. In 1469, another figure at the forefront of Sienese technological development, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, would be elected operaio of the *bottini*. See Fabio Bargagli Petrucci, "Francesco di Giorgio Martini: Operaio dei Bottini di Siena," *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 9 (1902): 235 – 36.
[130] See Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena,* vol. 2. Anne Hanson has also noted that for the period from 1395 until 1406 there are no records of any work being done on the *bottini*, or on the *Fonte Gaia*. See Hanson, Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia, 10.
[131] The full passage reads "Nel generale Consiglio convocato, ecc., vinte et ottenute furo le infrascritte provisioni cioè: conciò sia cosa che per le nigligentie passate e' buttini de la fonte del Campo et di Fontebranda et del altre fonti de la città di Siena, sieno in parte ripieni et per mancare in modo et forma che se prestamente non si provede l'acqua de le dette fonti a tutto è per mancare o senza grande spendio non si ritornarebbeno al loro corso usato, acciò che le dette acque non manchino perchè sarebbe danno et vergogna de la città di Siena, proveduto et ordinate è per certi cittadini, sopra la detta material eletti, che per li Magnifici Signori Priori, Capitano di Popolo e Gonfalonieri maestri s' eleggano tre valenti cittadini e' quali si mandino a scontrino nel Consiglio Generale, et quello che otterrà le più voci, rimanga operaio de l'acque et buttini predecti per tempo di due anni et più, a bene placito d'esso Consiglio Generale, con salario di libber cento di denari netti di cabella per ciascuno anno da pagarsi per lo Camerario di Biccherna senza altra pulitia o decreto." See Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 41.

of the city's fountains and to work towards increasing the output of the *Fonte Gaia*.[132] Financial records of 1406 and 1407 show renewed activity in cleaning and rebuilding the *bottini*.[133]

Restoration work proceeded swiftly and on 15 December 1408 a contract was drawn up for the construction of a new fountain in the Campo.[134] The recently established *reggimento popolare* was involved in nearly every step of the fountain's lengthy design process.[135] The series of revisions made to Jacopo della Quercia's original design between 1408 and the fountain's completion in 1419 are well documented. The initial sculptural programme was modified between December 1408 and January 1409. This updated design is recorded by two halves of a drawing now located in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Figs. 18, 19).[136] Work on the fountain did not begin in

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[132] Among the members of this group were Domenico di Sano, *Operaio dell'acqua* in 1403-04, Meo di Niccolò, *Operaio dell'acqua* for the year 1406, and Ghino di Bartolomeo Ghini, a banker that would serve on the committee responsible for the construction of the new Fonte Gaia from 1409 to 1417. See Hanson, Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia, 10.

[133] Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti Di Siena*, vol. 2, 301-306. This activity was also noted in Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 10.

[134] The document reads "Locaverunt ad faciendum fontem Campi cuidam magistro Jacobo, cum pactis et modis, de quibus latius constat manu mei." ASS, *Concistoro Deliberazioni* 257, f. 19, as cited in Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti Per La Storia Dell'Arte Senese*. Siena, 1854; Utrecht, Holland: Davaco, 1969, vol. 2, 100. Hanson suggests that the "recently won freedom from Milanese rule had already spurred the Sienese into plans for a more beautiful and more useful civic monument in the Piazza." See Hanson, Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia, 10.

[135] Deborah Kawsky has described the communal government's vision of the *Fonte Gaia* as a key civic symbol: "The persistence of civic interest in the Fonte Gaia commission throughout the protracted period of its design and execution, demonstrated by the direct role of communal councils in the approval of contracts, design modifications, timing, and expenditures relative to the project, and by the frequent exhortation in official documents that the work be completed to "sua perfectione," illustrates the extent to which the fountain was viewed as an essential component of Sienese public image." Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition: Civic Art and Civic Identity in Quattrocento Siena,* 57. See also Hanson, "The History of Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia" in *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 10 – 21 and Beck, "Catalog 10. The Fonte Gaia," in *Jacopo della Quercia,* vol. 1, 161 – 166.

[136] The central section of this drawing is missing. The London half was published by Jenö Lányi in 1927. See Jenö Lányi, "Der Entwurf zur Fonte Gaia in Siena," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst.* 61, (1927): 257 – 266. Richard Krautheimer published the Met half in 1952. See Richard Krautheimer, "A Drawing for the "Fonte Gaia" in Siena." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art bulletin* 10.10 (1952): 265 – 274. Lányi attributed the work to Priamo della Quercia, while Krautheimer felt it to be by the hand of Jacopo himself. In 1968 Charles Seymour argued that one of either Parri Spinelli or Martino di Bartolommeo made the

earnest until 1414 when part of its lower structure was built. In 1415 the *operai* once again made a number of significant changes to the fountain's decorative and iconographical programme. The partially built wings of the structure were torn down, enlarged, and sloped downward and outward, making the fountain slightly wider at the front than at the back.[137] This had the effect of increasing the visibility of the sculptural programme as the arms opened up marginally to seemingly embrace individuals standing in the piazza, an architectural element mirrored by the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico on the opposite side of the Campo where the two wings of the structure are also angled ever so slightly towards the square. Further enlargements and adjustments were made to the fountain in 1417 and by September of 1419 the project was concluded.[138]

Jacopo della Quercia's *Fonte Gaia* took on the form of a trapezoid enclosed on three sides by walls decorated with figural reliefs on the inside and colored marble slabs on the outside. The front of the structure was left open in order to provide access to the water basin. Due to its poor state of preservation the original fountain was dismantled in the late nineteenth century.[139] The structure that sits in the Piazza del Campo today is a free copy made by the

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drawing for Jacopo. See Charles Seymour, "'Fatto di suo mano,' Another Look at the Fonte Gaia Fragments in London and New York," in Antje Kosegarten and Peter Tigler eds., *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968, 93 – 105. In the same year B. Degenart and A. Schmitt attributed the work to Jacopo. See Bernhard Degenart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450*. Berlin: Mann, 1968, vol. 1, 203 – 211. Anne Hanson and James Beck both attribute the drawing to Jacopo della Quercia. See Hanson, "The History of Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia," in *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 12, and Beck, "Catalogue 3. The Fonte Gaia Drawing," in *Jacopo della Quercia*, vol. 1, 150. While the two intriguing figures of the monkey and dog that also appear on the parapet in the drawings do not exist, the two animals do appear in smaller form amongst the foliage of one of the surviving vegetal decorative fragments from the fountain.

[137] Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 19.

[138] Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 21.

[139] Jacopo della Quercia's original structure had been carved from a soft and porous marble that has a slight yellowish tinge. For this reason it is known as *marmo giallo,* a material that is still quarried in the hills to the west of Siena known as the Montagnola Senese. As a result of this marble's susceptibility to damage from erosion and abrasion much of the sculptural ensemble had deteriorated over the centuries. On 29 July 1858 the decision was made to replace the *Fonte Gaia* with Tito Sarrocchi's copy. The

Sienese sculptor Tito Sarrocchi and installed in 1869 (Fig. 20).[140] While Sarrocchi's *Fonte Gaia* affords a general idea of the arrangement of the original fountain it can only provide hints of its overall magnificence.[141]

commune authorized the dismantling of della Quercia's fountain on 11 June 1868, and initially the surviving pieces of the fountain were transferred to the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo for storage. In 1904 the fragments were placed on exhibit in the loggia of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico for the occasion of the *Mostra dell'antica arte senese*. After a lengthy conservation treatment, in March of 2011 the surviving fragments of della Quercia's fountain were put on display in the room located on one of the lower floors of the hospital as part of the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of Italian unification. See Scappini, "A History of Disrepair," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times,* 149 – 151.

[140] The scholarship on Tito Sarrocchi is rather thin. Tito's son Guido wrote the first biography of the artist in 1924. See Guido Sarrocchi, *Cenni Biografici Dello Scultore Senese Tito Sarrocchi.* Siena: Stabilimento Arti Grafiche Lazzeri, 1924. Marco Pierini put out a more recent monograph in 1999. See Marco Pierini, *Tito Sarrocchi 1824-1900: Sculture, Modelli in Gesso, Bozzetti*. Siena: Protagon editori toscani, 1999. The most up to date and thorough analysis of Sarrocchi's fountain may be found in Scappini, "The Nineteenth-Century Fonte Gaia," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times*, 174-220.

[141] Despite the contractual obligation that the new fountain was to be made "*secondo l'antico disegno di Giacomo della Quercia, e delle stesse misure e proporzioni*," a number of clear departures are evident in Sarrocchi's copy. The marble used by Sarrocchi is a white stone that came from Seravezza in the province of Lucca and was chosen primarily because it was more durable than the *marmo giallo* employed by Jacopo della Quercia. Differences in carving style are also apparent. The delicate and benevolent facial physiognomy of Jacopo's personification of *Wisdom,* for instance, is achieved largely through the use of an oval face with rounded, full cheeks. In contrast, Sarrocchi's figure possesses a more elongated and less fleshy visage. The crease above the upper eyelid of the original *Wisdom* possesses a high, rounded arch, creating a much thicker brow than appears above the eyes in the later version. The overall effect produced by Jacopo's sculpture is suggestive of a lively individual who seems to squint outwards from underneath heavy eyebrows, the yellow-tinged marble imbuing the figure with a sense of warm flesh. This is in stark contrast to the cooler, more severe and indifferent *Wisdom* that Sarrocchi had sculpted. Perhaps the most significant departure, however, was the complete absence of the two freestanding sculptural groups of semi-nude adult females each accompanied by a pair of young children that were originally set upon the fountain's lateral parapets. This change represented a dramatic deviation from Jacopo della Quercia's concept. Originally, the *Fonte Gaia*'s repetition of maternal bodies embodied themes of childcare and fertility that Sarrocchi's replacement fails to fully capture. For the contract see Archivio Storico del Comune di Siena (hereafter ASC), Carteggio, Cat. XIV, Lavori Pubblici, as cited in Scappini, "The Nineteenth-Century Fonte Gaia," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times,* 208, note 636. On the marble used in Sarrocchi's copy, see Scappini, "The Nineteenth-Century Fonte Gaia," 203 – 204. Following the unveiling of Sarocchi's replacement fountain in January of 1869, the supervisory committee had discussed commissioning the two freestanding sculptural groups. In October of 1870 a mention of a public subscription to pay for the sculptures was made but by September of 1871 the project was abandoned. See ASC, Carteggio, Cat. XVII, Lavori Pubblici 6. *Il Libero Cittadino*, January 23, 1870. *La Vita Nuova*, October 2, 1870, as cited in Scappini, "The Nineteenth-Century Fonte Gaia," 207, n. 634.

The surviving fragments from della Quercia's *Fonte Gaia* are today placed on display deep in the bowels of the former hospital of Santa Maria della Scala (Fig. 21). The sculptural programme consisted of an enthroned *Madonna and Child* set in a shallow central niche located on a long back wall and flanked by two angels (Fig. 22). The adoption of a majestic Marian theme is consistent with the city-state's longstanding motto of *Sena Vetus Civitas Virginis* and represents continuity with earlier civic imagery such as Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Maestà* altarpiece painted for the high altar of the cathedral (Fig. 23). Moving outwards from the central image of the Virgin, in niches to her right were the virtues *Prudence* and *Fortitude* (Figs. 24, 25) while on her left was a representation of *Justice* and the virtue usually identified as *Charity* (Figs. 26, 27). On the projecting wing to Virgin's right were the virtues *Hope* and *Wisdom* (Figs. 28, 29) along with a relief depicting the *Creation of Adam* (Fig. 30). The projecting wing to the Virgin's left held niches occupied by *Temperence* and *Faith* (Figs. 31, 32) as well as a scene showing the *Expulsion from Paradise* (Fig. 33).

Ottavio Morisani thought that the layout of the *Fonte Gaia* was inspired by the stalls of an ecclesiastical choir.[142] Yet the structure also resembles a *residenza* for a civil judiciary with an enthroned Virgin occupying the central niche.[143] Such an arrangement would have evoked the benches used by the *signori priori* in the Palazzo Pubblico and was an appropriate setting for the

[142] "La Fonte Gaia, per l'importanza della commissione e per il fatto d'esser destinata a colmare una secolare aspirazione dei senesi, vorrebbe essere opera di grande impegno architettonico: e non lo è. Trae vita dallo schema di un coro chiesastico e, come questo, ha la nota fondamentale nella cadenza di un solo tema – quello degli stalli – ripetuto." See Ottavio Morisani, *Tutta la scultura di Jacopo della Quercia*, Rizzoli, Milano, 1962, 20. Morisani's thesis was recently supported by Massimo Ferretti. See Massimo Ferretti, "Gli ambigui destini della Fonte Gaia," in Enrico Toti and Sara Dei eds., *La Fonte Gaia di Jacopo della Quercia: Storia e restauro di un Capolavoro dell'arte Senese.* Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2011, 145.

[143] This facet had already been noted by Enzo Carli. See Enzo Carli, *Gli Scultori Senesi*. Milano: Electa, 1980, 30, as cited in Marilena Caciorgna, "Moduli Antichi e Tradizione Classica nel Programma della Fonte Gaia di Jacopo Della Quercia." *Fontes.* (2001), 72.

Virgin in her role as Queen of Siena flanked by the virtues that were indispensible to the government of the republic.[144] Indeed, a symbolic connection between the Virgin's courtly gathering and the regime itself was emphasized during the ritualized festivities that would periodically occur in the piazza. A late sixteenth-century oil on canvas painting by Vincenzo Rustici depicts the celebrations that occurred in the Campo on the feast of the Assumption of Mary on 15 August 1546 (Fig. 34).[145] It shows a massive crowd occupying temporary wooden bleachers surrounding the piazza. Billowing banners appear amongst the throng while in the piazza itself may be seen a series of floats in the shapes of heraldic animals of the various *contrade*. It is a chaotic scene where minute figures are seen engaging in running battles with bulls. Upon closer examination one sees that a temporary dais has been constructed over the rear portion of the *Fonte Gaia* where a small group of individuals are seated (Fig. 35). Two standing figures dressed in brilliant red finery hold aloft the black and white banner of the *balzana*, suggesting that the seated figures were in all likelihood civic elites. Situated at the rear of the fountain the arrangement of these figures temporarily usurped the position normally occupied by Jacopo della Quercia's sculpted heavenly court of the Virgin.

Standing upon both ends of the parapets of the *Fonte Gaia* were freestanding sculptural groups composed of semi-nude adult female figures each accompanied by two male children

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[144] Ibid. Anne Hanson and Francis Ames-Lewis have noted how the imagery of the fountain as a whole evoked the Good Government iconography of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes in the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico. See Hanson, *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 28 – 32, and Francis Ames-Lewis, "The Fonte Gaia and Civic Imagery in Late Medieval Italian Sculpture," in Phillip Lindley and Thomas Frangenberg eds. *Secular Sculpture, 1300-1550*. Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000, 74 – 85.

[145] These festivals were the foreunners of the modern Palio horserace that takes place on the Piazza del Campo on July 2nd and August 16th of each year. The painting is currently in the collection of the Banca Monte dei Paschi di Siena. For an account of these celebrations and Rustici's visualization of the festivities see Elizabeth Mackenzie Tobey, "Organization of the Palio and the Sienese Contrade," in *The Palio in Italian Renaissance Art, Thought and Culture*. PhD Dissertation, University of Maryland, Ann Arbor: UMI (3178720), 2005, 86 – 91.

(Figs. 36, 37). These were amongst the most innovative sculptures of the period with the art historian James Beck praising them as the "first purely freestanding, life-size sculptures of the fifteenth century."[146] The identity of these sculptures has been repeatedly questioned, for they do not seem to fit within the otherwise courtly ensemble of the Virgin surrounded by allegorical representations of virtues. The general consensus amongst most modern art historians is that the female figures represent *Rhea Silvia* and *Acca Larentia*, the legendary mother and foster mother of the twins Romulus and Remus who had been raised in the wild by a she-wolf as described in the foundation legends of ancient Rome.[147] Since at least the thirteenth century civic authorities in Siena demonstrated a keen interest in establishing an origin for the city based in Roman antiquity, a practice that was common amongst the late-medieval communes.[148] While during the fifteenth century some signorial regimes would claim a Roman lineage as part of legitimization campaigns, in Siena these legends were ideologically charged with specifically republican

[146] Beck, "Divine and Public Charity," in *Jacopo Della Quercia*, vol. 1, 91.
[147] According to Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, Romulus and Remus were born from the vestal virgin Rhea Silvia following her rape by Mars. Due to the dishonour of their birth, Rhea's father King Numitor ordered the children to be placed in a basket and thrown into the Tiber. They were saved from drowning when the river washed the infants onto a shore where they were discovered by a thirsty she-wolf. The wolf suckled the twins until the shepherd Faustulus took them home where his wife Acca Larentia nurtured and cared for them. Romulus was said to have gone on to become the sole ruler of Rome, the city having taken his name. See Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (The History of Rome), Valerie M. Warrior trans. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 2006., Book I, Ch. 3 and 4, 6 – 13. Local humanists such as Agostino Patrizi and Agostino Dati went to great lengths to establish foundation legends for Siena that were based in Roman antiquity. See Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," in particular 200-205. For more on the roman foundation myths for Siena, see Benes, "Siena: Romulus and Remus Revisited," in *Urban Legends: Civic Identity and the Classical Past in Northern Italy, 1250-1350*, 89 – 113.
[148] For more on the creation of Roman foundation legends for the late-medieval Italian communes, see Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," in *Politics, Civic ideals, and Sculpture in Italy c. 1240 – 1400*, 87 – 147. Modern archeology has revealed evidence of Roman and Etruscan settlements in the area however this information was unknown when the Sienese foundation myths were created. See Paolo Brogini, "Presenze ecclesiastiche e dinamiche sociali nello sviluppo del Borgo di Camollia (sec. XI – XIV)," in Mario Ascheri ed., *La Chiesa di San Pietro alla Magione nel Terzo di Camollia a Siena: Il Monumento, l'Arte, La Storia*. Siena: Cantagalli, 2001, 7 – 17, and Paolo Brogini, "L'individuazione della Siena romana ed altomedievale: alcune considerazioni e nuove ipotesi," *Accademia dei Rozzi*, 18, 2003, 6 – 14.

ideals.[149] Civic authorities believed that knowledge of the history of the Roman Republic, and the causes of not only its greatness but also of its decline through factionalism and civil war, provided valuable lessons for contemporary Sienese society.[150] A popular local myth known as the Tisbo legend developed that contained echoes of the foundation legends of ancient Rome. Codified during the 1460s but likely representing a much older oral tradition the tale claimed that the twin sons of Remus, Aschius and Senius, had fled Rome after their father was murdered by his brother Romulus.[151] The brothers made a vow to build a temple to Apollo should they elude the wrath of their uncle and the god responded by sending two horses—one white and one black—to aid their escape. Carrying with them the *sacrario*—the sacred image of the she-wolf—the twins founded a city on the site that is now Siena, eponymously named after Senius. The

[149] In the fifteenth century signorial regimes would construct a Roman heritage in order to justify their rule. At the Palazzo Trinci in Foligno, for example, is a fresco cycle painted by Gentile da Fabriano and assistants between 1411 – 12 that depicts the legend of Romulus and Remus. In this instance the Trinci signoria was using the legend to construct a link between the Roman empire and its own autocratic rule and an ancient Roman ancestry for the family and the city of Foligno. The Trinci claimed their ancestor was the Trojan hero Tros, from whom the family's name descended and who had supposedly founded the city of Flamminea which eventually came to be known as Foligno. The frescoes may be dated to 1411 – 1412 as a result of a manuscript recently discovered by Laura Lametti. See Laura Lametti, "Il Manoscritto Intitolato 'Appunti sopra la Città di Foligno: Scritti da Lodovico Coltellini accademico fulginio, Parte nona, 1770-1780,'" in Francesco Federico Mancini and Giordana Benazzi eds. *Il Palazzo Trinci di Foligno*. Perugia: Quattroemme, 2001, 427-445, esp. 428. The document supports the attribution to Gentile da Fabriano made by Giordana Benazzi in 1999 based on visual analysis. See Giordana Benazzi, "I dipinti di Gentile da Fabriano nel Palazzo Trinci di Foligno: Un restauro rivelatore e un documento ritrovato," in Vittoria Garibaldi ed. *I Lunedì Della Galleria: Grandi Restauri in Umbria: 18 Ottobre-29 Novembre 1999*. Perugia: Quattroemme, 2001, 136-64. See also Marilena Caciorgna and Roberto Guerrini, "Imago Urbis, La Lupa e L'Immagine di Roma nell'Arte e nella Cultura Senese come Identità Storica e Morale," in Bruno Santi and Claudio Strinati eds. *Siena & Roma: Raffaello, Caravaggio e i Protagonisti di un Legame Antico*. Siena: Protagon, 2005, 108 – 109.

[150] For more on the didactic political function of the Roman foundation legends in Siena, see Rubenstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," in particular 196 – 205.

[151] The legend was written using the pseudonym Tisbo Colonnese. The identity of the author remains unknown, although Alessandro Lisini and Fabio Iacometti have attributed the text to Francesco Patrizi. See A. Lisini and F. Iacometti eds., "Cronache Senesi," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.* Bologna, 1931-9, vol. 15, part 6, x-xii and xxvii. The primary surviving manuscript is in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi, G.I.9, fol. 126-33, "Ex Tisbi Columnensis R. Cronicis per eundem Patricium transumptis," in *Patritii Patritii de Urbis Senarum origine opusculum*.

black and white horses would be the source for the colours of the *balzana*—the heraldic stemma of Siena—while the she-wolf became the zoomorphic embodiment of the commune.

Including references to this foundation legend certainly made sense for such a prominent piece of civic architecture as the *Fonte Gaia.* Representations of *Rhea Silvia* and *Romulus and Remus* had also appeared on the reliefs on the *Fontana Maggiore* at Perugia where similar mythical Roman origins for the city-state were also propagated (Fig. 38). Considering that one of the surviving sculptures from the *Fonte Gaia* includes a *Lupa* (she-wolf), an iconographical association with the foundation legend is almost a certainty (Fig. 39). The theme of the salvific potential of water that pervades the legend of Romulus and Remus, the twins having been saved by the river Tiber, would have also been a fitting allusion to the life-giving waters provided by the fountain.[152]

An analysis of the two freestanding sculptural groups in relation to the New York and London drawings supports this reading. The female figure standing upon the parapet in the Victoria and Albert image wears a crown and elegant cloak, an attire appropriate for the regal *Rhea Silvia* (Fig. 18). In the Met drawing the figure on the parapet wears clothing of a coarser material that is frayed at the bottom as well as a furry cloak perhaps meant to evoke goatskin (Fig. 19). In the place of a crown she wears a wreath of leaves upon her head. This is a costume befitting *Acca Larentia*, wife of the goatherd Faustulus.[153]

Despite the apparent soundness of these interpretations of the preparatory drawings, dissenting opinions have continually been expressed over the long history of the finished parapet

[152] Chiara Scappini had suggested precisely this common iconographical theme between the Romulus and Remus legend and the *Fonte Gaia*. See Scappini, "The Early History of the Fonte Gaia," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times,* 71.
[153] This was the argument first put forward by Richard Krautheimer. See Krautheimer, "A Drawing for the "Fonte Gaia" in Siena," 271. Anne Hanson was in agreement. See Anne Hanson, "The Imagery of the Fonte Gaia," in *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 25.

sculptures. Writing in the third decade of the sixteenth century Sigismondo Tizio claimed that the sculptures were double images of *Acca Larentia* accompanied by the twins Romulus and Remus.[154] Just over a hundred years later Giulio Piccolomini described the sculptural groups as representations of *Public Charity*, a sentiment repeated in the eighteenth century by at least two different authors.[155] In 1787 J. J. de Lalande felt the figures expressed "*l'amour du bien public*."[156] In 1936 Pèleo Bacci identified the female figures as double images of *Mother Earth*, a reading that has gained recent support in Chiara Scappini's 2011 doctoral dissertation.[157] In his 1991 monograph on Jacopo della Quercia James Beck argued that the figure conventionally identified as *Acca Larentia* should instead be understood as a personification of *Divine Charity* or *Amor Dei* while Rhea Silvia was in fact an allegory of *Public Charity* or *Amor Proximi*.[158]

The reception history of these two sculptural groups, which have repeatedly frustrated efforts to provide a definitive interpretation, should not be ignored. The diversity of opinions may have been generated by a purposeful iconographical fluidity that imbued the sculptures with

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[154] Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, 234, as cited in Fabio Bisogni, "Sull'iconografia della Fonte Gaia," in Chelazzi Dini ed., *Jacopo della Quercia fra Gotico e Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno di Studi, Siena, Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia, 2-5 Ottobre 1975.* Firenze: Centro Di, 1977, 109.

[155] Piccolomini stated the figures were "…due statue rappresentanti la pub. Carità." See Giulio Piccolomini, *Siena illustre per vaghezza celebrato dal S. Giulio Piccolomini. Pubblica Lettera di Tosca favela nel pub. Studio Sanese*. MS. Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, C.II.23, (after 1638), c. 50v, as cited in Bisogni, "Sull'iconografia della Fonte Gaia," 109. In the eighteenth century, G. A. Pecci affirmed this identification by claiming "…e due statue intiere in prospettiva che esprimono la pubblica Carità…", while G. Faluschi was in agreement: "e la pubblica Carità espressa nelle due statue ivi collocate in prospettiva." See G. A. Pecci, *Relazione delle cose più notabili della città di Siena*, Siena, 1752, 59 – 60, and G. Faluschi, *Breve relazione delle cose notabili della Città di Siena*, Siena, 1784, 90, as cited in Bisogni, "Sull'iconografia della Fonte Gaia," 109.

[156] "il y avoit aussi des statues destinées à exprimer l'amour du bien public…" J. J. de Lalande, *Voyage en Italie*, vol. III, Yverdon, 1787, p. 6, as cited in Bisogni, "Sull'iconografia della Fonte Gaia," 109.

[157] Pèleo Bacci, *Francesco di Valdambrino*. Siena: Istituto comunale d'arte e di storia, 1936, 306, and Scappini, "The Early History of the Fonte Gaia," in *History, preservation and reconstruction in Siena the Fonte Gaia from Renaissance to Modern Times,* 72.

[158] Beck, "Jacopo della Quercia's Artistic Style," in *Jacopo Della Quercia,* vol. 1, 84. In 1977, Fabio Bisogni identified the two figures as Charity and Liberality (*Liberalità*). See Bisogni, "Sull'iconografia della Fonte Gaia," 110 – 111.

an enigmatic quality. The drapery of the adult female figures is slightly differentiated but not to the extent seen in the London and New York drawings where it is much easier to distinguish *Acca Larentia* from *Rhea Silvia*. Della Quercia's sculpture conventionally identified as *Rhea Silvia* is clothed in a light, thin fabric as suggested by the bunched-up material that loosely hangs between her breasts and the heavily wrinkled drapery that surrounds her waist. In contrast *Acca Larentia* wears drapery made of a much thicker textile as suggested by its having less folds and larger planes. *Rhea Silvia's* body also appears leaner and more muscular while *Acca Larentia* seems fleshier. Yet there is no regal crown or other attributes that would clearly distinguish one figure from the other as there were in the prepatory drawings. Perhaps most signifant of all the figures in the London and New York drawings are fully clothed while the finished sculptures are semi-nude. These features make an identification based upon traditional iconographical analysis difficult. Rather than attempt a closing off of their signifying potential one might consider how these figures represent rather than try and pin down who they represent.

Jacopo della Quercia's semi-nude figures are each attended by upright and plump toddlers situated at their feet, a motif that has a long tradition in the history of sculpture. Diminutive figures of Cupid often accompanied ancient Roman sculptures of Venus (Fig. 40). The upward-straining pose of the child standing next to the figure known as *Rhea Silvia* in particular recalls the attitude of the Cupid figure seen in the *Venus Felix* currently located in the Vatican museums (Fig. 41).[159] The *Venus Felix* sculptural type also provided a suitable model for late medieval allegorical representations of *Charity,* the epithet *Felix* signifying fortune, prosperity, fecundity, and fertility. It may have been the case that Nicola Pisano had adapted an

[159] For more on the *Venus Felix* type of Roman sculpture, see Julie Ponessa Salathe, "Venus Felix" in *Roman Women Portrayed as Venus: Political, Social, and Religious Contexts.* PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Ann Arbor: UMI (9730780), 1997, 265 – 269.

image, be it literary or visual, of a *Venus Felix* for his allegorical figure of *Charity* found on the pulpit in the Pisan baptistery where once again the adult figure is accompanied by an upward reaching child (Fig. 42).[160] As has already been noted, Jacopo della Quercia's figures have been repeatedly interpreted as allegorical representations of *Charity* and the sculptor would have certainly been aware of Nicola Pisano's work in both Siena and Pisa. Indeed, Jacopo's freestanding sculptures bear a number of parallels with Nicola's figure of *Charity,* particularly in the pose of the standing child holding the hand of *Rhea Silvia*. Carrying a figural charge of abundance, fertility, and fecundity, the *Charity* sculptural type supplied conceptually suitable inspirational models for Jacopo della Quercia's maternal figures.

Another particularly striking feature of both parapet sculptural groups is the manner in which the placement of the right hand of the standing female figures recalls a different antique sculptural type: the *Venus Pudica* (Fig. 43). This is especially the case with the sculpture of *Acca Larentia* who gathers bunched up folds of drapery over her genitals. This gesture combined with the semi-nude status of both figures almost certainly was intended to evoke the lost sculpture of Venus which once stood at the first *Fonte Gaia*. In her monograph on Jacopo della Quercia's fountain Anne Hanson had already recognized this commemorative function arguing that the

[160] Nicola Pisano's oeuvre suggests a savvy and inventive engagement with antique sculptural models as seen for instance in his well-known adaptation of a figure of Hercules in order to represent a personification of *Fortitude*. See Anita Fiderer Moskowitz, *Nicola & Giovanni Pisano. The Pulpits: Pious Devotion, Pious Diversion*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2005, 47. Max Seidel has referred to Nicola as a highly inventive "artist-iconographer" whose remarkable ability to give novel forms to traditional iconographies had elevated the sculptor's social status from artisan to the "intellectual level of the students of the *artes liberales*." See Max Seidel ed., *Father and Son: Nicola and Giovanni Pisano.* München: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 2012, vol. 1, 180. According to Seidel, the expression and hairstyle of the Pisan *Charity* had been derived from antique figurative art, while the "robust child" was copied from an *amorino* on a Roman sarcophagus of the seasons. For the purposes of our current inquiry locating a specific antique source for Nicola's figure is less important than the artist's ability, as Seidel himself recognized, to "link the reception of classical figural motifs with ideas handed down by Christian writers." See Seidel, *Father and Son*, vol. 1, 200.

artist "wished to restore this beautiful figure to its position on the city fountain, modifying it to serve as a symbol of the Roman origins of Siena."[161] Hanson's choice of terminology, the sculptural groups acting to "restore" the place of the Venus, hints at their political function for a recently established republican regime that sought to appropriate the legitimacy of the Nine.

Yet there is much more at stake in the way these sculptural groups evoked images of Venus. Stephen Campbell has argued that the figures "both supplant and commemorate" the "contaminating" presence of the earlier pagan figure of Venus that had adorned the original Fonte Gaia.[162] Campbell's claim that "venereal temptation was now displaced by recasting the female form as a civic symbol of Charity or maternal nurture," acknowledged the themes of abundance and fertility embodied by the new *Fonte Gaia* sculptures.[163] At the same time, however, such an interpretation minimizes the overtly erotic elements of the freestanding female

[161] Hanson, "The Imagery of the Fonte Gaia," in *Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia*, 33-34. James Beck repeated this argument. See Beck, "Jacopo della Quercia's Artistic Style," in *Jacopo Della Quercia,* vol. 1, 92.

[162] Stephen Campbell, "Human Body in Renaissance Art," in Paul F. Grendler ed., *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*. New York: Scribner's, 1999, 206. In a later publication Campbell referred to the Lysippan Venus as a "contaminating" pagan presence. See Stephen J. Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 14. It is important to note that contrary to Erwin Panofsky's claim that Venus statues were the single-minded target of a "mediaeval fear of nudity and paganism," more recent scholarship has demonstrated that during the Middle Ages the goddess was not a univalent sign. Jane Long has studied the reception of Venus by medieval authors and beholders, arguing that the eroticism of the goddess was not always immediately perceived as sinful. Rather, an ambivalent tension usually characterized a beholder's engagement with images of Venus. These were perceived as provoking lust and sin, while at the same time they could encourage marital consummation or functioned as magical fertility talismans. Above all, Venus was not automatically rejected as demonic: "the writers receive the images in the most positive terms – powerful, marvelous, wonderful, remarkable, and very beautiful – and although they can be problematic, this may reflect their inherent eroticism, which is simultaneously appealing and socially questionable." See Jane C. Long, "The Survival and Reception of the Classical Nude: Venus in the Middle Ages," in Sherry C. M. Lindquist ed., *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*. Farnham, Surrey, UK, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012, 47 – 58. For Panofsky's discussion of the medieval reception of Venus, see Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*. New York: Harper & Row, 1960; 1969, 151 – 152, n. 3.

[163] Stephen Campbell, "Human Body in Renaissance Art," in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, 206.

statues. Far from displacing the sensuality of the lost Venus sculpture, in Jacopo della Quercia's figures the erotic coexists with the maternal.[164]

On the one hand the vulnerability and dependence of the children upon their adult caregivers is established through the exchange of affectionate and caressing gestures. The infant carried by *Rhea Silvia* absentmindedly clings to a piece of drapery that has been loosely flung over *Rhea's* right shoulder, the fabric falling between her exposed breasts in bunched up coils (Fig. 44). With her other hand *Rhea* gently consoles the needy child standing at her feet which reaches upwards seeking her comforting touch (Fig. 45). Similar tender gestures characterize the *Acca Larentia* group. The infant held in *Acca's* left arm gently strokes the exposed left breast (Fig. 46). Youthful rambunctiousness is evoked by the child situated at her feet who seems to have been tripped up by the loop of cloth wrapped around its raised right foot (Fig. 47). The flailing infant appears to have just caught *Acca Larentia's* attention as she begins to turn her head downwards while gathering up the folds of drapery surrounding her waist. On the other hand the eroticism of both of Jacopo della Quercia's standing female figures is emphasized by their semi-nude status, their luxurious flowing drapery having fallen away to expose much of their torsos. The defined musculature of *Rhea Silvia's* right arm and shoulder suggests an athletic build and much of her left thigh is enticingly revealed by a slit in the drapery that runs upwards

[164] This aspect of the sculptures points to the ways that the binary of the maternal and sexualized female body is a cultural fabrication. In their discussion of the motherhood/sexuality divide, Susan E. Chase and Mary F. Rogers addressed the apparent contradiction between the breastfeeding maternal body and the sexualized female form by arguing that such a patriarchal construct ignores how breasts "shatter the border between motherhood and sexuality. Nipples are taboo because they are quite literally, physically and functionally, *undecidable* in the split between motherhood and sexuality." In many ways this conception of the "undecidability" of the maternal body closely corresponds to the aesthetic produced by Jacopo della Quercia's sculptural groups of *Acca Larentia* and *Rhea Silvia*. For Chase and Rogers, "one of the most subversive things feminism can do is affirm this undecidability of motherhood." See Susan E. Chase and Mary F. Rogers, "Mothers, Sexuality, and Eros," in *Mothers and Children: Feminist Analyses and Personal Narratives*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001, 125.

almost to her hip (Fig. 48). *Acca Larentia* has been given an exaggerated hipshot contrapposto stance that lends the figure a sensuous sway, emphasizing the round curves of her waist and the soft flesh of the exposed navel.[165]

Subsequent beholders repeatedly responded to the charged carnal allure of Jacopo della Quercia's figures. In the sixteenth century Giorgio Vasari vividly described the sensuality of the *Fonte Gaia's* sculptural programme, suggesting that the erotic potential of the figures was heightened by Jacopo della Quercia's carving technique and finish. In his 1550 *Vita* of the artist, Vasari noted that Eve's beauty was such that it would have been impossible for Adam to refuse the apple she had offered him.[166] In addition, he commented upon the sculptor's "*morbidamente*" carving style which made the figures appear as if made of flesh (*far parere carnosi*).[167] While many of the original sculptures have become eroded and damaged over time, enough survives to provide hints of what Vasari referred to as the "licked clean" quality (*leccatezza pulitamente*) of Jacopo's superb surface finish.[168]

From its earliest days the idea of the *Fonte Gaia* as a site of seduction was a popular literary trope. In 1430 the Sicilian-born poet Giovanni Marrasio composed an elegy to the *Fonte*

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[165] Luke Syson has previously remarked upon the appeal of the erotic allure of the two figures to subsequent artists: "Their sensuous sway, accomplished internal balance and alluring curvaceousness, the lurxurious flow of their draperies and their softly feminine facial types were regularly imitated by the generation of painters active in Siena after 1500." Luke Syson, "Study after Figures of 'Rhea Silvia' and 'Acca Laurentia' by Jacopo della Quercia on the Fonte Gaia," in *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*, 248.
[166] Vasari's description of the narrative relief panels from the fountain as including the Creation of Adam and Eve and the eating of the forbidden fruit does not correspond to the two narratives from Jacopo's Fonte Gaia, which instead represented the Creation of Adam and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. Vasari's account more closely corresponds to the narrative reliefs from the San Petronio portal at Bologna. See Vasari, *Le Vite De' Piú Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani: Da Cimabue Insino a' Tempi Nostri: Nell Edizione Per i Tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, 242.
[167] Vasari, *Le Vite De' Piú Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani: Da Cimabue Insino a' Tempi Nostri: Nell Edizione Per i Tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino, Firenze 1550*, 243.
[168] Ibid.

Gaia.[169] Dedicating his poem to Leonardo Bruni, Marrasio began with a description of how the thirst quenching waters of the fountain were celebrated for their invigorating properties.[170] Very quickly, however, the reader is warned that Venus had placed a "bloodied bow with quiver full of flaming arrows at the bright font of Gaia," and that her son Cupid lingers hidden upon the monument: "Here he takes off his feathers, he lays down his flaming darts. He does not soar amongst the towers, nor does he leave our walls. Exhausted, Cupid rests upon the fountain."[171] The warning that Cupid reposes concealed upon the *Fonte Gaia* may in fact have been a reference to the fountain's figural elements. When Marrasio wrote that "*Exuit huc pennas"* (here he takes of his feathers), he could have been interpreting the children surrounding the freestanding female figures as disguised wingless representations of Cupid.

In formulating his elegy Marrasio drew upon a popular topos in literature: that of the enchanted waters that flowed forth from the pleasure gardens of late medieval dream poetry.[172] Usually appearing in the form of a marble fountain, the impossibly clear waters that percolated

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[169] Stephen Campbell has previously analyzed Marrasio's elegy to the *Fonte Gaia*. See Stephen J. Campbell, ""Sic in Amore Furens": Painting as Poetic Theory in the Early Renaissance." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 6 (1995): 145 – 168.

[170] "Non opus est scythicum senibus disquirere fontem, quo sub demersis prima juventa redit. Unus apud Scythiam per saxa latentia repit, funditat & lymphas ante Senense Forum. Hic situs in media fons est argenteus urbe: et tumulus vivis ossibus ille meis. Phoebus ab Eoo roseas cum solvit habenas mane videt Gai lumine fontis aquas quicumque hos latices haurit, quicumque liquore et calet inprimis & juvenescit aquis. Vidi ego Nestoreos qui iam transiverat annos submersum juvens membra referre senem. Sed si forte meis tete juvenescere sentis versibus: his lymphis unda Papyrus erat. Non versus fecere mei, nec inepta poesis, sed quibus asperses saepe libellous aquis. Fons hic exornat juvenes, urbemque Senensum: Numen habet laqueos, retia, mille iocos." See Giovanni Marrasio, "Marrasii Siculi ad Leonardum Aretinum: De laudibus Fontis Gai," in *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum*, Florence, 1720, VI, 251.

[171] "Sanguineos arcus pharetram flammamque, sagittas, deposuit Gajo candida fonte Venus…Exuit huc pennas, deposui que faces. Per turres tum non volitat, nec moenia nostra egreditur: fessus fonte Cupido sedet." Marrasio, "Marrasii Siculi ad Leonardum Aretinum: De laudibus Fontis Gai," 251 – 252. The English translation is mine.

[172] April Oettinger has seen a similar connection between the enchanted waters of late medieval dream poetry and the "speaking fountains that fuelled the imaginations of Renaissance antiquarians." See April Oettinger, "Vision, Voluptas, and the Poetics of Water in Lorenzo Lotto's Venus and Cupid," in Marice E. Rose and Alison C. Poe eds. *Receptions of Antiquity, Constructions of Gender in European Art, 1300-1600*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015, 242.

from these sources functioned as fonts of desire and inspiration.[173] A passage from the thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* bears a number of parallels with Marrasio's text. At the beginning of the poem the narrator is led to a garden by following a pleasantly murmuring stream filled with clear and cold waters.[174] Inside was a marble fountain bearing an inscription declaring it to be the place where Narcissus met his tragic end. Initially the storyteller recoils and is afraid to gaze upon the fountain out of fear of suffering a similar fate as that which befell the youthful hunter. Soon, however, the narrator approaches the waters and peers into their depths. The font is described in strikingly visual terms as the most beautiful in all the world, possessing eternally fresh water that is clearer than fine silver.[175] It is stated that whoever looks into the waters is placed on the path to love: "for it is here that Cupid, son of Venus, sowed the seed of love that has dyed the whole fountain, here that he stretched his nets and placed his snares to trap young men and women; for Love wants no other birds."[176] When the protagonist becomes captivated by the sight of a beautiful rose bud spotted in the waters and by the sweet perfumes it emits, the God of Love fires an arrow that strikes the Lover in the eye and pierces his heart.[177] The amorous and watery visions found in the tradition of the *Roman de la Rose* would repeatedly appear in poetry

[173] Hester Lees-Jeffries, "Sacred and Profane Love: Four Fountains in the Hypnerotomachia (1499) and the Roman De La Rose." *Word & Image* 22.1 (2006): 1-13.
[174] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose,* Daniel Poiron ed. Paris: Flammarion, 1999, 1.103 – 1.129.
[175] "Au fons, plus clere qu'argens fins. De la fontainne c'est la fins, Qu'en tout le monde n'ot si belle. L'iaue est tous jors freche et novelle." De Lorris and de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 1.1525 – 1.1530. This passage bears a close resemblance to Ovid's description of the fountain of Narcissus: "fons erat inlimis, nitidis argenteus undis." See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Frank Justus Miller trans., London: Loeb Classical Library, 1966, 3.407.
[176] "Ci ne se set consillier nus; Car Cupido, li filz Venus, Sema ici d'Amors la grainne, Qui toute a tainte la fontainne, Et fist ses las environ tendre, Et ses engins i mist pour prendre Damoiseles et damoisiaus, Qu'Amors ne veut autres oisiaus." De Lorris and de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 1.1585 – 1.1595. The English translation is from Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*. Charles Dahlberg ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995, 52.
[177] De Lorris and de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 1.1680 – 1.1695.

produced in succeeding centuries. Similar imagery was woven throughout Petrarch's verse,[178] while in book 5 of the *Decameron* Boccaccio described the transformative encounter between Cimon and Iphigenia as occurring at a meadow in a forest in the corner of which was a fountain "most fair and cool."[179]

For the Sienese humanist Francesco Patrizi, the enticing charm of the fountain in the Piazza del Campo made it the target of erotic fantasies. In a poem written in September of 1461 Patrizi described a dream in which he refers to the *Fonte Gaia* as a spring that is sacred to the Muses and the site of his seduction by the genius of Siena appearing in the form of a majestic woman.[180] In making this association Patrizi was not alone. As first noted by Stephen Campbell, beginning in the late 1440s the Sienese painter Angelo Maccagnino and a number of collaborators adapted Jacopo della Quercia's *Virtues* as models for a cycle of the *Nine Muses* painted for Leonello d'Este's *studiolo* at the Palazzo Belfiore in Ferrara.[181] One of the most

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[178] April Oettinger cites the example of Petrarch's *Standomi un giorno solo alla finestra*, where the poet envisions a crystal fountain: "Chiara fontana in quel medesmo bosco/sorgea d'un sasso, et acque fresche et dolci/spargea, soavemente mormorando;/al bel seggio, riposto, ombroso et fosco,/né pastori appressavan né bifolci,/ma nimphe et muse a quel tenor cantando:/ivi m'assisi; et quando/più dolcezza prendea di tal concento/et di tal vista, aprir vidi uno speco,/et portarsene secola fonte e 'l loco: ond'anchor doglia sento,/ et sol de la memoria mi sgomento." See Anthony Mortimer ed., *Petrarch's Canzoniere in the English Renaissance*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005, *Canzoniere* 323: lines 36 – 48, as cited in Oettinger, "Vision, Voluptas, and the Poetics of Water in Lorenzo Lotto's Venus and Cupid," 244, n. 28.

[179] Giovanni Boccaccio, "Day 5.1," in *The Decameron*, Wayne A. Rebhorn trans. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013, 397. See also C. Jean Campbell, "Painting Venus in the Poetic Tradition of the Early Renaissance," in Thomas Kren, Jill Burke and Stephen J. Campbell eds., *The Renaissance Nude*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018, 122.

[180] The poem was dedicated to the Sienese jurisconsult Gregorio Lolli and is found in fols. 10 – 16 of Chigi J VI 233, a manuscript kept in the Vatican Library. See Leslie F. Smith, "The Poems of Franciscus Patricius from Vatican Manuscript Chigi J VI 233." *Manuscripta* 10.2 (1966), 96 – 98.

[181] Campbell noted the following correspondences between Jacopo's figures and those at Belfiore: "Apart from the comparable attenuated proportions, long, swelling torsos and small heads, specific figures such as Faith, with her right leg folded behind the left, provide a model for the contrapposto of Urania, while Urania's heavenward glance is matched by that of the figure of Hope. Michele Pannonio's Thalia repeats the pose of della Quercia's Prudence in reversed form, while Terpsichore, inclining to the right and with raised forearms, descends from the figure of Justice. The original design for Tura's Calliope also recalls both Prudence and Justice." See Campbell, "'Sic in Amore Furens,'" 166 – 167. Campbell further pointed to an exchange between the humanist Carlo Marsuppini and Giovanni Marrasio, where Marrasio

interesting aspects of these panels is the way that the painters responded to della Quercia's sculptures by intensifying the sensuality of the figures:

> It is their sensual and alluring character which most strikes the observer, not to mention the gestures of outright sexual invitation—the unlaced dress and cosmetic finery of Tura's Calliope now in London [Fig. 49], the proffered rose of the Thalia in Budapest [Fig. 50], the act of ungirdling and of kicking off sandals performed by the Erato in Ferrara [Fig. 51], who has clearly been reinstated as the Muse of erotic poetry.[182]

In his analysis of the Belfiore panels, Campbell noted that the Muses were frequently associated with the poetic strategy that enabled the lover to possess the beloved through the seductive power of art.[183] I believe that the association of the *Fonte Gaia* with the Muses opens up the possibility for an analogous political interpretation. The government of Siena had already fetishized water through its longstanding obsession with providing copious amounts of the resource. With Jacopo della Quercia's *Fonte Gaia* the abundance of water was feminized, maternalized, and eroticized. The erotic appeal of Jacopo della Quercia's figures and the mirrored surface of the the *Fonte Gaia's* waters participated in the longstanding literary topos of the fountain as a place of seduction. The artist's "*morbidamente*" carving style as described by Vasari, which made the figures appear as if made of flesh, and the "*leccatezza pulitamente"* of their smooth finish further lent them a heightened sensuality.

It has sometimes been assumed that public statues of women would have addressed male and female contemporaries in disparate ways. In his study on Donatello's now lost *Dovizia,* which once adorned a column in Florence's Mercato Vecchio, Adrian Randolph claimed that the sculpture indicated to Florentine women that their highest civic duty was linked to their biological procreativity while for male beholders the figure became the symbolic target of

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envisioned the figures of the *Virgin Mary* and eight allegorical *Virtues* from the walls of the *Fonte Gaia* as the "*numina sacra novem.*" See Campbell, "'Sic in Amore Furens,'" 164.

[182] Campbell, "'Sic in Amore Furens,'" 150.

[183] Campbell, "'Sic in Amore Furens,'" 156.

"patriotic heterosexual gazes."[184] In Siena, where during a sermon delivered in the Piazza del Campo in 1427 the popular preacher Bernardino degli Albizzeschi urged women to use images as models of moral behavior, the two sculptural groups of *Acca Larentia* and *Rhea Silvia* may have indeed provided embodiments of fecundity and *exempla* of idealized maternal conduct.[185] Yet one would be mistaken in assuming that only male beholders would have responded to the eroticism of the semi-nude female figures.[186] In another sermon Bernardino asked "If one of you women here were to strip stark naked…how many men and how many women do you think would fall into temptation? I say many, and many just by seeing her."[187] It is clear that women as well as men were expected to find the sight of the naked female form enticing.[188]

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[184] "The *Dovizia* would have satisfied a particular criterion of contemporary Florentine aesthetics, which prized female bodies that appeared to ensure progeny." See Adrian W. B. Randolph, "Common Wealth: Donatello's Ninfa Fiorentina," in *Engaging Symbols*, 73 – 74.

[185] In a famous sermon cycle delivered in the the Piazza del Campo during the autumn of 1427, Bernardino urged women to look to the Annunciation triptych painted by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi in 1333 for the altar of St. Ansano in the Cathedral as an example of conduct: "Have you seen the Annunciation in the Duomo above the altar of Saint Sano, next to the sacristy? That certainly seems to me to show the most beautiful attitude, the most reverent, and the most shy that I have ever observed in an Annunciation. You see how she dares not look straight at the Angel; how she shrinks away in an attitude almost of fear? She knew very well that she was faced with an Angel: what need was there for her to be troubled? What would she have done if it had been a man! Draw a lesson from this, girls, regarding what you should do yourselves." Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, C. Delcorno ed. Milan: Rusconi, 1989, vol. 2, 870. The English translation is from Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to Saint Bernardino of Siena*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004, 138.

[186] As Jill Burke has noted this was a time when sexual identities were more fluid and not understood in terms of the binaries of homo- or hetero-sexuality. See Jill Burke, "Nakedness in Renaissance Italy," in *The Italian Renaissance Nude*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018, 54 – 58. For more on pre-modern women responding sexually to images of women see Patricia Simons, "Lesbian (in)visibility in Italian Renaissance Culture: Diana and Other Cases of *donna con donna*." *Journal of Homosexuality* 27 (1994): 81 - 122; Noreen Giffney, Michelle Sauer and Diane Watt eds., "Introduction" in *The Lesbian Premodern*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; and Karma Lochrie, *Heterosyncracies: Female Sexuality When Normal Wasn't.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

[187] "Se una donna di voi si spogliasse innuda, e fusse costà ritta…a quanti uomini e donne credi che venisse tentazione? Io ti dico, solo per vedere, a molti e molti." Bernardino of Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, vol. 1, 478 – 479, as cited in Burke, "Nakedness in Renaissance Italy," 54.

[188] Jill Burke has noted that during the fifteenth century female nakedness was inextricably bound up with sexual temptation. See Burke, "Nakedness in Renaissance Italy," 48 – 50.

The carnality of the semi-nude sculptures of *Acca Larentia* and *Rhea Silvia* was intensified by their proximity to individuals located in the Piazza del Campo. With their nearly eye-level positions the figures encouraged a direct interaction with the beholder that was radically different from the free-standing sculptures commonly found on the high facades of late medieval cathedrals, as occurs at the Sienese Duomo for instance.[189] The visual and tactile allure of Jacopo della Quercia's sculptures would have drawn beholders towards the fountain and invited them to drink from its cool, clear, and refreshing waters, functioning in a similar manner to the captivating power of the poet.[190] And it is evident that water was every bit an integral material component of the *Fonte Gaia's* political, as well as its aesthetic and practical, functions. The clarity of the water flowing from the fountain in the Piazza del Campo was a highly-valued feature, just as it was in the poetic tradition of enchanted fountains. This is indicated by the decision to build a large settling pool for the *bottino maestro* under the Prato di Camollia in 1438 (Fig. 52). This project was justified in minutes of the city council through the claim that it was done "so that the water will run clear at the fountain in the Campo."[191] In addition to its clarity the kinetic and auditory aspects of joyful sprays of gurgling fresh water would have been a powerful attraction in a city where the resource was so cherished. We need only recall that for

[189] James Beck had also remarked upon the conditions of visibility of these figures for the beholder: "At the Fonte Gaia, where a nearly eye-level communication was established and where loutish youths could give the two marble women irreverent pinches and worse by merely jumping over the side walls of the fountain, the relationship was quite different." See Beck, "Jacopo della Quercia's Artistic Style," in *Jacopo della Querica*, vol. 1, 94. See Beck, "Jacopo della Quercia's Artistic Style," in *Jacopo della Querica*, vol. 1, 94.

[190] Boccaccio provides evidence of the value placed upon sources of fresh, cool water during the fourteenth century, when he described the ideal country villa as possessing "wells containing the freshest water," or a with a spring in the cellar "surging with great quantities of the coldest water." See Kucher, "Fountains and Aqueducts," in *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy,* 45.

[191] "Acciò che l'aqua venga chiara a la fonte del Campo." *Registro dei Regolatori delle Ragioni*, 26 May 1438, f. 87, as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 266 – 367.

Marrasio the waters of the fountain were a "sacred liquor;" a sweet nectar causing those who drank from it to "become young" and "rage in love."

Maternalistic hydrosolidarity

In the mid-1420s Siena was once again faced with a series of destabilizing events. In 1424 members of the *Dodici,* who had been excluded from holding political office ever since 1404, were revealed to be plotting a coup. The threat to the trilateral arrangement of the coalitional republican government could not be tolerated and a leader of the plot, Cristoforo di Jacopo Griffoli, was executed, an act justified because "it was necessary in order to provide for the good of our city and the preservation of the present republican regime."[192] In 1425 renewed hostilities broke out between Milan and Florence. On 25 November of that year the *Consiglio del Popolo* of Siena voted to refuse an offer of allegiance from Duke Filippo Maria Visconti and the Milanese ambassador was expelled. Shortly afterwards, the council issued a "*proposta generale*" dedicated to the conservation of the regime and of Sienese *libertà*, and Siena entered into an alliance with Florence.[193] In the same year the communal government issued a decree relating to renewed investment in the water supply system, justifying the expenses by noting:

> How much our predecessors spent on bringing water to the fountain in the Campo and to the Fonte Branda, and how much honour and profit (*honore et utile*) has followed to our city and convenience to all our citizens and inhabitants, and seeing how necessary is the abundance of water (*necessità è l'abbondanza dell'acqua*) in the aforesaid fountains, which for a while have been very lacking and which have lost half of the water that used to come to the decrepit fountains, especially that of the Campo.[194]

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[192] The excerpt of the Concistoro deliberations appears in Petra Pertici, *Tra Politica e Cultura nel Primo Quattrocento Senese: Le Epistole di Andreoccio Petrucci, 1426-1443*. Siena: Accademia senese degli intronati, 1990, 16 – 17.

[193] Ibid.

[194] The document in question concerns the election of the *Operaio* of the *bottini* on 20 June 1425 and reads "Item, veduto et considerate quanto spendio de gl'antichi nostri anno facto in fare venire l'acqua a la fonte del Campo e de fonte Branda et quanto honore et utile ne segue a la nostra Città et comodità a tutti e' nostri cittadini et habitori di quella, et veduto quanto di necessità è l'abbondanza dell'acqua de le fonti predette le quali da uno tempo in qua sonno molto manchate et èssi perduta la metà dell'acqua la quale soleva venire a le decte fonti, maximamente quella del Campo…" See "De La Electione De

These incidents are a reminder that whenever the political cohesion of Siena was threatened the governing regime turned towards investment in public infrastructure as a means of civic amelioration. Abundant water was deemed a political necessity, one which brought honour and profit to the city and provided convenience to its citizenry.

The reoccurring obsession with the water supply network on the part of the central government may be understood as an earlier form of the hydrosolidarity ideal wherein the collective management of water led to a progressive consolidation of the city-state as a politically cohesive entity. The ethics of modern water management practices require an awareness of the interdependency of sovereign entities in protecting a resource that does not respect artificially imposed boundaries.[195] Thus in a twenty-first century context the care of water sources often demands the collaboration of independent nation-states. In late-medieval Siena, however, the management of hydraulic systems took on a markedly different form. The water supply network was entirely under the supervision of the *reggimento*, who thoroughly recognized the system's potential to encourage social cohesion under its central authority. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries fountains were dispersed throughout Siena's topography in a number of different jurisdictions, the network of *bottini* increasingly linking each of the city's neighbourhoods to one another. For Francesco Patrizi, the bountiful supply of water provided by this system represented not only a source of civic pride, it also produced a sense of equality: "There is abundant water for the use of all things…emitted by fountains spaced at almost equal distances throughout the city which provide for the use of

L'Oparaio E Suoi Consiglieri Et De Loro Auctorità," as cited in Bargagli-Petrucci, *Le Fonti di Siena*, vol. 2, 60. The English translation is mine.

[195] Falkenmark, "Forward to the Future," 360.

everyone and give the appearance of splendor.[196] Patrizi's linkage of the seemingly equidistant spatial distribution of fountains throughout the city (*et fontes plurimos paribus pene spaciis*) with an almost egalitarian functionality (*usui omnibus*) suggests an urban spatial praxis designed to alleviate social tensions by providing accessible water sources to all districts in an equitable manner.[197] Yet the expansion of the system also had the effect of slowly eroding the sovereignty of the *contrade* and *terzi* as the viability of the network depended upon the central government for its oversight. When it came to water management, the communal government's jurisdiction took precedence over the other political subdivisions of Sienese society.

The construction of the *Fonte Gaia* visualized in concrete terms these centralizing processes. Situated in the city-state's civic square and principal marketplace, members of the various factions of Sienese political life would have been able to quench their thirst at the *Fonte Gaia* while conducting daily business.[198] Politics, infrastructure, architecture, and art were intimately linked to the shaping of public space and the effort to establish a cohesive civic identity. Initially Sienese fountains took on a "distinctive civic mode" of architecture, as evidenced by the structures built during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *Fonte Gaia* departed from this earlier architectural mode in dramatic fashion. The fact that it was the fountain in the Piazza del Campo, the prime civic space closely associated with the *reggimento*,

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[196] "…aquae abundantia ad omnium rerum usum…et fontes plurimos paribus pene spaciis per urbem emittunt, qui et usui omnibus sunt, et species decoremque ornatus." Francesco Patrizi, *De institutione Reipublicae*. Paris, 1520, fol. 104v, as cited in Fabrizio Nevola, *Siena: Constructing the Renaissance City*. New Haven [Conn.]; London: Yale University Press, 2007, 217, n. 119. The English translation is mine.

[197] On medieval spatial praxis see Hanawalt and Kobialka, eds., *Medieval Practices of Space*; Peter Arnade, Howell, and Simons, "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe," 549-69; and Cohen and Madeline eds., *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories, and Imagined Geographies.* On practices of space in general see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

[198] For more on the Piazza del Campo marketplace, see Dennis Romano, *Markets and Marketplaces in Medieval Italy, c. 1100 to c. 1440*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2015, especially 149 – 150 and 210 – 211.

that took on such spectacular architectural form was certainly no accident. The sheer magnificence of the sculptural programme of the *Fonte Gaia*, which was radically different from any of the city's pre-existing fountains in its material and formal qualities, was an assertion of the primacy of the central government. Its grandeur presented a material manifestation of the dignity of the state.[199]

From its earliest history beholders had interpreted an implicit association between the *Fonte Gaia's* sculptural programme and the fountain's function in providing an ample supply of water. Upon its installation in the Piazza del Campo in 1419 an anonymous observer remarked that "the fountain in the Campo of Siena was made with marble figures and other beautiful ornament (*ornamento*), as one sees, with very abundant water (*molta abondantia d'acqua*), the figures having been made by maestro Jacomo di maestro Pietro dalla Guercia da Siena."[200] For the art historian Francis Ames-Lewis, this account was highly suggestive:

> The phrasing of the 1419 chronicler's report which interweaves the importance of 'molta abondantia d'acqua' with comments on the sculpture suggests that a direct relationship was seen between them…In della Quercia's figures the parallel is drawn between a mother's role in providing for her offspring and the city government's duty to supply the people with the water essential for their nourishment.[201]

Ames-Lewis's insightful linkage of the maternal themes of Jacopo della Quercia's sculptural programme with the regime's provision of water is highly complementary to the present investigation. Indeed, the metaphor of the state as a female body and represented as such in

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[199] On the theory of magnificence as a virtue in fifteenth-century Italy see A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 162 – 170.

[200] "La fonte del canpo [sic] di Siena si fornì di fare con figure di marmo con altro bello ornamento, come si vede, co' molta abondantia d'acqua, le quali figure furono fatte per maestro Jacomo di maestro Pietro dalla Guercia da Siena…" Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*, B.III.15, 233-34, as cited in Ames-Lewis, "The Fonte Gaia and Civic Imagery in Late Medieval Italian Sculpture," 84. The English translation is mine.

[201] Ames-Lewis, "The Fonte Gaia and Civic Imagery in Late Medieval italian Sculpture," 84 – 85.

sculptural form goes back at least to ancient Greece.[202] Brendan Cassidy's recent study on sculpture and civic ideals in the communal period of Italy demonstrates the long history of the tradition of representing the city in maternal terms. Rome was personified as a woman in both antique and medieval art, and it was the image of the city as mother that remained the preferred metaphor for Italian medieval communes.[203] If the city was represented as a mother then the citizenry was most often cast as her children, as may be seen in Giovanni Pisano's sculptural group carved for the Porta S. Ranieri of Pisa Cathedral in 1310 (Fig. 53). While heavily damaged, originally this group was composed of statues of the Virgin and Child flanked by the Emperor Henry of Luxembourg and a personification of the city of Pisa. Today the figure of the Emperor is completely lost, but we know from a fifteenth-century source that the sculpture of Pisa was originally shown as a kneeling mother with two children on her lap.[204]

An even closer prototype for the *Fonte Gaia's* maternal themes, both in terms of geographical proximity as well as iconography, is Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *She-Wolf* located at the feet of the figure known as *Buon Governo* in the Sala della Pace (Fig. 54). Lorenzetti's *She-Wolf* possesses echoes of the warmth and intimacy that permeated his earlier *Madonna del Latte* panel, painted for the Augustinian hermitage at nearby Lecceto around 1325 (Fig. 55).[205] Yet the Sala della Pace *She-Wolf* redirects these themes in order to create a potent image of the surrogate care provided to the citizenry of Siena by the communal government. As the twins Romulus and Remus are nourished by the *She-Wolf's* milk, she lovingly licks one of the infants. This overt

[202] Brendan Cassidy cites Eutychides of Sicyion's Tyche of Antioch, the original of which would have been made around 300 BCE, as an early example of this practice. See Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," 105, note 77.
[203] Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," 105. For more on imagery of the city as woman in late medieval Italy see Randolph, "Common Wealth: Donatello's Ninfa Fiorentina," 69 – 71.
[204] See Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," 105, note 84.
[205] Today the *Madonna del Latte* is in the collection of the Museo Diocesano at Siena.

emphasis upon affection provides an idealized vision of the relationship between government and citizenry.

The *Fonte Gaia* activates the iconographic themes found in Lorenzetti's *She-Wolf* by transforming them into a kinetic sculptural ensemble in which water is an essential material component. While drawing water from a fountain might seem to be a mundane undertaking, at the *Fonte Gaia* this interaction was anything but innocuous. It was a performative act; an exchange that enacted an affirmation of the public's overall dependence upon the *reggimento* whose seat of power was located within the nearby Palazzo Pubblico.[206] Engaging with the monument and drinking from its waters amounted to nothing less than providing implicit consent for the regime's authority.[207] In this manner the *Fonte Gaia* became a machine for generating a maternalistic form of hydrosolidarity, wherein the independence of the *contrade* and *terzi* was subordinated to the centralizing ideologies of the state. This political order was visualized through the repetition of motherly figures surrounded by dependent children.

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[206] Two related theoretical approaches to this exchange are relevant here. The first is speech-act theory which conceives of language as essentially a set of acts and practices rather than a system of structures and meanings. This distinction was summarized by the British philosopher J. L. Austin by what he called the "constative," which was an utterance used for stating things or conveying information, and the "performative," an utterance used for doing things or performing actions. See Douglas Robinson, "Speech Acts," in *The Johns Hopkins Guide to Literary Theory and Criticism,* Michael Groden and Martin Kreiswirth eds., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, 684, and J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà eds., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962; 1975. The art historian Horst Bredekamp has proposed a related theory of the picture-act (*Bildakt*) which has done much to shift the focus away from talking about images merely as representations. Bredekamp's emphasis upon the shaped form of a work of art and its ability to provoke or engender actions on the part of a beholder bears a number of parallels to Austin's notion of "perlocution." On the relationship of the picture-act to the speech-act, see Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2010, 48 – 56.

[207] James Beck had previously noted the significance of the *Fonte Gaia* for the restored republican regime when describing Jacopo della Quercia's monument: "his fountain, symbolic of a well-run republic capable of supplying its citizens with a constant supply of life-sustaining water, was on an axis with the Palazzo Comunale." See Beck, "Jacopo della Quercia's Artistic Style," in *Jacopo Della Quercia*, vol. 1, 69.

Perhaps nowhere else was this pact made clearer than with the she-wolf sculptures from whose mouths the waters flowed into the fountain's basin. Since at least the thirteenth century images of the she-wolf had functioned as zoomorphic embodiments of the commune.[208] Due to losses incurred at the time of the dismantling of Jacopo della Quercia's fountain in the middle of the nineteenth century only one of the wolves survives in a damaged state (Fig. 39).[209] A photograph taken around 1850 shows water pouring from the mouth of the extant *She-Wolf*

[208] The Sienese connection with the she-wolf dates back to at least the mid-thirteenth century, and was linked to the propagation of Roman foundation legends for the city. A statute issued in the city's constitutions of 1262 offered rewards for live wolves caught within Sienese territory, notifying the public that "anyone that captures a male or female wolf outside the city of Siena, in the territory and jurisdiction of Siena, shall receive for each female wolf ten solidi, and for each male wolf five solidi, and for each pup three solidi." (Et quicunque ceperit lupum aliquem vel lupam extra civitatem Senensem in comitatu et iurisdictione Senensi, dabo vel dari faciam pro qualibet lupa.x.sol., et pro lupo .v. sol., et pro quolibet lupicino .III. sol.) See Lodovico Zdekauer, *Il Constituto Del Comune Di Siena Dell'Anno 1262*. Sala Bolognese: A. Forni, 1897; 1983, 80, as cited in Benes, "Siena: Romulus and Remus Revisited," in *Urban Legends*, 99. Monumental *Lupe* appeared in a number of thirteenth and fourteenth-century civic artistic commissions. There are the she-wolf drain spouts (*lupe-doccioni*) on either side of the upper portion of the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico. The spouts currently visible on the Palazzo are copies, but the originals have been attributed to the workshop of Giovanni Pisano. Two more sculpted she-wolves appear in the tympanum above one of the Palazzo's portals, and are attributed to the fourteenth-century artist Agostino di Giovanni. See Adolfo Venturi, "Giovanni Pisano e le lupe-doccioni del Palazzo Pubblico di Siena," *L'Arte* 26 (1923): 187-189, Roberto Bartalini, "Per la Scultura Senese del Trecento: Agostino di Giovanni." *Prospettiva*. 108 (2002): 2-35, and Marilena Caciorgna and Roberto Guerrini, "Imago Urbis, La Lupa e L'Immagine di Roma nell'Arte e nella Cultura Senese come Identità Storica e Morale," 105. Perhaps the most prestigious of all was Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of the she-wolf in the *Allegory of Good Government* found in the Sala della Pace of the Palazzo Pubblico.

[209] The attribution of this sculpture has been debated. Neither Anne Hanson nor James Beck make mention of it. Charles Seymour claimed that the figure "does not easily fit the requirements of Jacopo's style – or, for that matter, of his period," and attributes it to an assistant of the artist. See Charles Seymour, *Jacopo Della Quercia, Sculptor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973, 46 and Fig. 44. Based on Fabio Gabbrielli's analysis of Antonio Bandini's *Diario Sanese*, Marilena Caciorgna has argued that the sculpture is in fact a late eighteenth-century sculpture carved by Matteo Pini and Lorenzo Ricci. See Marilena Caciorgna, "Matteo Pini e Lorenzo Ricci (?)," in *Siena & Roma: Raffaello, Caravaggio e i Protagonisti di un Legame Antico*, 145. Yet an attribution based on this single document is unconvincing, especially in the face of the evidence provided by the sculpture itself. A simple comparison of this figure with the dog laying at the feet of the effigy of Ilaria del Carretto on her tomb monument in the cathedral of San Marino at Lucca reveals a number of parallels. The slightly protruding ribs, bunched up wrinkles of flesh at the neck, and powerful, muscular limbs culminating in robust clawed feet are common to both sculptures, as is the posture of the slightly turned head, as if something has just caught the attention of both canines. Given these parallels, I find no compelling reason to believe that the sculpture was not part of the 1419 sculptural ensemble.

which was situated at that time at the right side of the basin close to the front of the fountain (Fig. 56).[210] Although heavily eroded the figure still possesses all of the robust, powerful forms and smooth finish associated with Jacopo della Quercia's work. Resting on massive muscular front and hind quarters the *She-Wolf* turns its head and confronts the beholder. Folds were painstakingly carved into the creature's imposing neck suggesting soft creases of flesh. By positioning the *She-Wolf's* body parallel to the open access of the basin its milk-laden mammary glands were placed prominently on display. This made the connection to the city's foundation legends visually explicit while at the same time reaffirming the fountain's broader themes of fecundity and maternity. Embodying nature's generative power, the significance of this figure is unequivocal. Just as the She-Wolf had cared for the infants Romulus and Remus by providing them with nourishing milk, the communal government of Siena would continue to sustain the city's population through its provision of life-giving water.

[210] A corresponding she-wolf in all likelihood once occupied the left side of the fountain, although it was already lost at the time the photo was taken. A contract dated 17 November 1416 included a provision for the commissioning of two statues of she-wolves which would discharge water into the basin: "I Regolari del Comune di Siena insieme con due degli Operai della Fonte di Piazza, deliberano, che siano fatte da maestro Jacopo di Piero due lupe che gettino acqua nella Fonte predetta." Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena, Pergamena 1429, as cited in Milanesi, *Documenti Per La Storia Dell'Arte Senese,* vol. 2, 79, n. 51.

Chapter Two: Scopic Form

Guarda, ben guarda, guarda!

~ Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari inedite*, Siena 1425[211]

In Siena, as in other parts of the Italian peninsula during the late-medieval period, prestigious individuals from antiquity were promoted as legendary founders of the city.[212] These attempts to associate one's homeland with the charisma of ancient heroes formed part of broader claims to an antique heritage. The Sienese were fond of pointing to the *Epitome* of Livy which claimed that the colony of Senae was established under the consulate of Manius Curius Dentatus (d. 270 BCE).[213] A local legend first codified in the fifteenth century but which in all likelihood had a much earlier oral tradition similarly postulated that the *Terzo* of Camollia owed its name to the ancient Roman soldier and five-time dictator Marcus Furius Camillus (died ca. 365 BCE).[214]

In addition to providing an impressive line of forebears, the annals of the Roman Republic also informed Siena's self-image as a republican city-state. After the restoration of Sienese independence in 1404 following over a decade of Milanese domination, a number of public monuments were commissioned by the central government that included images of

[211] The excerpt is from a sermon where the preacher encourages Sienese fathers to keep a close watch on their daughters. See Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari inedite: Firenze 1424, 1425 – Siena 1425*. P. Dionisio Pacetti ed. Siena: Cantagalli, 1935, 251 - 252.
[212] In Perugia, a sculpture of a Trojan prince named Euliste on the Fontana Maggiore is presented as an image of the founder of the city. At Genoa an inscription running above the arches of the nave of the cathedral declared that a Trojan prince named Giano expanded the power and prestige of the city at the time of Rome's founding. Padua claimed the Trojan hero Antenor as its founder and the Roman historian Livy as one of its native sons, while Modena asserted that Marcus Junius Brutus had been a Modenese patriot. For more on the tradition of claiming an antique heritage in the civic mythmaking of the Italian communes see Brendan Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," in *Politics, Civic ideals, and Sculpture in Italy c. 1240 – 1400*, 87 – 147.
[213] *Epitome*, XI: "Coloniae deductae sunt Castrum, Senae, Hadria." Cf. O. Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi*, Venice, 1599, I, 9, as cited in Rubinstein, "Political Ideas," 200.
[214] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas," 200 – 201.

famous statesmen from ancient Rome.[215] The earliest of these monuments was Taddeo di Bartolo's cycle of *uomini famosi* painted in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico during the years 1413 – 1414 (Fig. 57). In an article published in 1958, Nicolai Rubinstein argued that the cycle of famous men represented an attempt "to teach civic virtues by pictorial representation," and that the imagery expressed the "same political concepts" as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's paintings of *Peace*, *War*, and *Good Government* in the Sala della Pace.[216] It is an association that has remained resilient in literature on the antechapel, often reducing Taddeo's frescoes to the level of mere reiterations of the earlier artist's work.[217] In his recent study on the Sala della Pace murals, Patrick Boucheron briefly mentions the *uomini famosi* by referring to them as "*échos figuratifs*" of the iconographic themes found in Lorenzetti's imagery.[218] Yet Boucheron did not claim that the images simply restated the content of the Sala della Pace murals. Rather, he saw Taddeo's frescoes as participating in a series of decorative programs distributed throughout the Palazzo Pubblico which "extended" (*prolongent*) and made explicit the ideal of medieval concord

[215] Other scholars have connected the commissioning of cycles of *uomini famosi* in Siena to the liberation from the tyranny of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. See Edna Carter Southard, "The Functions of the Frescoes" in *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, 1289 – 1539: Studies in Imagery and Relations to Other Communal Palaces in Tuscany*. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, Proquest (7906260), 1978, 32; Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 39; and Solberg, "Siena, The Antechapel Frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico, 1413-1414" in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 232, n. 26.
[216] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas," 207.
[217] Describing the *uomini famosi*, Edna Carter Southard claimed that "As in the Sala del Consiglio and the Sala della Pace frescoes, the subordination of individual wishes to the common good is extolled, because it was civil war which led to the fall of the Roman Republic and Siena was also a republic." Southard, *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico,* 368. Gail Solberg noted that "the iconography of the new cycle is linked with the early Trecento cycle of frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the not distant Sala della Pace, or Sala dei Nove." Solberg, "Siena, The Antechapel Frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico, 1413-1414," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 226. Deborah Kawsky claimed that "with its emphasis on the political virtues and on the Aristotelian concepts of the "ben comune" and civic unity as the basis of good government, Taddeo's cycle bears significant conceptual resemblance to that painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti for the Sala de' Nove." Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition,* 75.
[218] Patrick Boucheron, "Nachleben: les ombres veillent," in *Conjurer la Peur: Sienne, 1338; essai sur la force politique des images.* Paris: Seuil, 2013, 42.

displayed in the earlier paintings.[219] This encrustation of subsequent imagery imposed a series of "reflective screens" (*l'ecran des reflets*) between the modern visitor and what Boucheron felt was a sense of urgency pervading Lorenzetti's earlier murals.[220]

For Boucheron, it was underlying feelings of anxiety over the continuing threats posed by civil strife and the rise of the *signoria* in Italian city-states elsewhere that linked Taddeo di Bartolo's *uomini famosi* to Lorenzetti's images of *War*, *Peace*, and *Good Government*.[221] However, for the current investigation I am more interested in the way in which these echoes of Lorenzetti's murals are characterized as "watchful shadows" (*ombres veillent*). In using this term Boucheron was primarily concerned with exploring the polychrony of the images, with subsequent decorative programs in the Palazzo Pubblico supposedly forming part of the *nachleben*, or afterlife, of Lorenzetti's paintings.[222] Yet it is interesting to note that in the case of Taddeo di Bartolo's *uomini famosi,* a sense of watchfulness is literally embodied in the unflinching gazes of the figures. The open staring eyes of his famous Romans, a hallmark of Taddeo di Bartolo's work, seem to follow a visitor around the antechapel producing a pronounced sensation of being scrutinized.

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[219] Amongst these other decorative programs were the ceiling frescoes in the Consistory painted by Domenico Beccafumi between 1529 and 1535 and the wall murals of the Sala del Risorgimento, painted between 1886 and 1890 in celebration of the unification of Italy. Boucheron, "Nachleben: les ombres veillent," 45 – 46.

[220] See Boucheron, "Nachleben: les ombres veillent," 45 – 51.

[221] Boucheron, "Le Lieu d'une Urgence Ancienne," in *Conjurer la Peur,* 22.

[222] Boucheron borrowed the concept of *Nachleben*, the way images may tell a story of a past that continues to survive, from Aby Warburg. On the concept of *Nachleben* see Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg.* Paris: Minuit, 2002. Boucheron's description of these later decorative programs as "screens" concealing lingering feelings of anxiety recalls Freud's theory of screen memories, recollections that stand in for, and also conceal, memories that have been made unconscious through repression. See S. Freud, "Screen Memories," in P. Rieff ed., *Early Psychoanalytic Writings*. New York, 1963, 239, as cited in Koerner, "On Monuments," 14, n. 28. Koerner's remarks upon how monuments may function as "screen resemblances that bring to light repressed memories," is not far removed from Boucheron's own claims. See Koerner, "On Monuments," 19.

It is my contention that this was an integral component of the intended function of the antechapel frescoes. In the climate of heightened anxiety over threats posed by internal factionalism, Siena produced a culture of watchfulness. Surveillance was a fact of life in late-medieval Siena, with the local population expected to function as "eyes upon the street."[223] Modern historians are only just starting to acknowledge the role performed by self-policing in bolstering political and social stability in the city-state. The passage quoted from one of Bernardino of Siena's sermons at the beginning of this chapter, in which the friar implored Sienese fathers to keep an eye on their daughters, is but one example of how citizens were encouraged to watch over one another. Another was the key role played by vigilant informants in enforcing the city's restrictive sumptuary laws. As Philippa Jackson has noted, "the surveillance of fellow citizens and reporting of those who stepped out of line was an integral part of the way in which fifteenth-century Sienese society sought to maintain social cohesion."[224] A related form of vigilance became official state policy in 1444 when a new office was created whose sole purpose was to keep watch on those who were not members of the *reggimento*.[225] According to Christine Shaw, this office was the precursor of the Nine of Ward which soon became a permanent part of the government, responsible for watching over the safety of the regime and public order in general.[226] Complementing this growth in state apparatuses of power were the

[223] I borrow the sociological concept of "eyes on the street" from the urbanist Jane Jacobs, who advocated that the safety of a city was best maintained by a vigilant local population. See Jane Jacobs, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety," in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961, 35.
[224] Philippa Jackson, "Parading in Public: Patrician Women and Sumptuary Law in Renaissance Siena." *Urban History* 37.3 (2010), 457.
[225] The office was composed of nine men (three from each of the three governing *monti*) who were appointed for a year at a time. Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), Concistoro 2115, f. 100r-v, as cited in Christine Shaw, *Popular Government and Oligarchy in Renaissance Italy*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006, 14, n. 30.
[226] Shaw, *Popular Government and Oligarchy in Renaissance Italy*, 14.

denunciation boxes (*cassettine delle denunzie*) which allowed citizens to submit accusations of wrongdoing by dropping off anonymous reports written on slips of paper.[227]

These developments had their roots in the preceding century. In the aftermath of the collapse of the regime of the Nine in the late 1350s an office known as the *Ufficiali sopra all'Ornato* was established that oversaw and organized urban renewal projects.[228] Ostensibly the purpose of the *Ornato* was to enforce policies for the improvement of the urban fabric and to encourage private property owners to renew their structures according to criteria of beauty and ornament.[229] Yet the redevelopment projects also exhibited an underlying scopic logic.[230] Archival documents indicate that a number of *Ornato*-mediated interventions centered upon improving sightlines along major roads by encouraging the destruction and removal of *ballatoi*, the balconies and cantilevered additions that projected from structures and invaded the open

[227] By the late fifteenth century such *cassettine delle denunzie* were installed at two highly significant locations: one near the high altar of the cathedral while the other was situated at the doorway to the podesta's residence on the left side of the Palazzo Pubblico. Fabrizio Nevola has described the *denunzie* as "a key component of the legal system," ranging "from formal accusations brought by publicly appointed officials, to far more informal apparently anonymous reports, submitted by citizens." Amongst surviving *denunzie* the most common complaints were related to violations of sumptuary restrictions, acts of sodomy, and prostitution. See Fabrizio Nevola, "Surveillance and Control of the Street in Renaissance Italy." *I Tatti studies / Villa i Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.* (2013), 102 – 104.

[228] This office was established at some point after 1359. See Berthold Hub, "Vedete come è bella la cittade quando è ordinate": Politics and the Art of City Planning in Republican Siena," in Timothy B. Smith and Judith B. Steinhoff eds. *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*. Surrey; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2012, 71. For more on the origins of the *Ufficiali sopra all'Ornato*, see Petra Pertici, *La Città Magnificata: Interventi Edilizi a Siena Nel Rinascimento : L'Ufficio Dell'Ornato (1428-1480)*. Siena: Il leccio, 1995, 65 – 141. For accounts of the *Ufficiali* in the fifteenth century, see F.J.D. Nevola, *Urbanism in Siena (c. 1450-1512): Policy and Patrons; Interactions between Public and Private*, PhD Dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1998, 69-73 and F. J. D. Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città": Siena's Strada Romana and Fifteenth-Century Urban Renewal," *Art Bulletin*, 82 (2000): 26-50.

[229] Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città,"" 30.

[230] Marvin Trachtenberg has described a similar "scopic regime" behind the urban renewal projects of Trecento Florence. See Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye*, 1997.

space of a street occluding the upper floors of most buildings when seen from below.[231] As a result of this program of demolition the medieval facades that line the streets of Siena today have been for the most part stripped of these projecting constructions, although a few may still be found along back streets in the city (Fig. 58).[232] Fabrizio Nevola has studied the fifteenth-century *renovatio urbis* of Siena at length and noted that while contemporary sources claim the reasons for the demolition of structures were aesthetic, they may have also performed military functions by enabling improved views of distant sites.[233]

Above all else what the urban renewal program demonstrates is an interest in providing order to the built environment and intensifying the sensation of one's visibility through an increased capacity for surveillance.[234] In what follows I will explore the central government's construction of a series of *uomini famosi* monuments in relation to the production of new fields

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[231] Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città," 30. For more on the demolition of the *ballatoi*, see Matthias Quast, "Palace Facades in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena: Continuity and Change in the Aspect of the City," in A. Lawrence Jenkens ed., *Renaissance Siena: Art in Context*. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2005.

[232] Such demolitions were not limited to the *ballatoi* but were extended to entire buildings. In 1412 the convent of Santa Barbara was singled out for destruction forcing a relocation of the resident nuns in the following year. The justification for this project was that the convent was badly placed as it "obscures the distant view of the Porta [Romana]" (Quod impedit videre a longibus dictam portam). See Patrizia Turrini, *"Per Honore et Utile de la Città di Siena": Il comune e l'edilizia nel Quattrocento*, Siena: Tipografia Senese, 1997, 82. In 1416 the road leading up to the Porta Romana was paved and the ground was leveled in order to increase the gate's visibility: "da ellevare via la terra perchè la porta si vedesse isscholpita." ASS, Concistoro, 2174, ad annum (October 30, 1416), as cited in Machtelt Israëls, "Sodoma at Porta Pispini and the Pictorial Decoration of Sienese City Gates," in Timothy B. Smith and Judith B. Steinhoff eds. *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*. Surrey; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2012, 196. In 1483 the hospital of S. Caterina delle Ruote had also been targeted for removal because it prevented a clear view from the Porta Romana "as far down as Valli" (about a half mile from the walls). Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città,"" 36.

[233] Nevola, ""Per Ornato Della Città,"" 36. For more on the military functions of urban renewal projects designed to increase visibility, see Richard Ingersoll, "Piazza di Ponte and the Military Origins of Panopticism," in Zeynep Çelik, Diane G. Favro, and Richard Ingersoll eds. *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 177 – 188.

[234] "In urban renewal and beautification can thus be seen the controlling hand of authority, expressed at its most essential level by the enhanced visibility such interventions afforded…New streets or street layouts can thus be read as the physical sedimentation of power relations." Nevola, "Surveillance and Control of the Street in Renaissance Italy," 94.

of visibility in Siena. In addition to the rhetoric of watchfulness associated with these monuments, I am also interested in how the iconographic theme of the *uomini famosi* was used by the central government in order to expand the seat of the state's power beyond the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico.

Under the gaze of famous men

Not long after the establishment of the coalitional republican government in 1404, renovations began on the Palazzo Pubblico as the regime began to place its stamp upon the seat of power. As a result of the growing administrative bureaucracy associated with the new government the ground floor of the palace was given over to expanded office space.[235] The palace chapel (the Cappella de'Nove) was relocated from the lower level to the *piano nobile* and renamed the Cappella de'Signoria. On 25 August 1406, the Sienese painter Taddeo di Bartolo was commissioned to paint a cycle of the *Life of the Virgin* in the new chapel along with images of full length saints set in fictive niches (Fig. 59).[236] This project was immediately followed by a commission in 1408 to paint an enormous *St. Christopher* on the wall of the antechapel above the entrance to the Sala di Balia (Fig. 60).[237]

On 11 October 1413, Taddeo was asked to fresco the remaining walls of the antechapel as part of the ongoing renewal of the council chambers (Fig. 57).[238] The fresco cycle represents a series of famous men (*uomini famosi*), a theme that became fashionable in a number of Italian

[235] The renovation of the second floor included the creation of smaller spaces for the chapel and the Sala di Balia by filling in the arches of the more open plan of the original structure. See Gail Solberg, "Siena, 1399-1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work, 176*.
[236] ASS, Concistoro, 243, c. 18, as cited in Ubaldo Morandi, "Documenti" in Cesare Brandi ed., *Palazzo Pubblico di Siena*, 423.
[237] On this commission see ASS, Concistoro, 2496, c. 20, as cited in Morandi, "Documenti," 424. The antechapel is in effect a corridor that runs between the chapel, Sala del Concistoro, Sala di Balia, and the Sala del Consiglio.
[238] ASS, Concistoro, 256, c. 20, as cited in Morandi, "Documenti," 424.

palaces around the beginning of the fifteenth century.[239] The rise in popularity of fresco cycles of *uomini famosi* during this period is often described in terms of a generalized, emergent civic humanism.[240] This had been the interpretation favored by Nicolai Rubinstein who had seen in the antechapel frescoes a clean break from the past:

> By 1413, cycles of "uomini famosi" had become a favourite subject for the frescoing of princely and civic palaces. There were two main treatments of this subject: the mediaeval tradition of the Nine Worthies, and the new humanist glorification of classical antiquity…the Sienese frescoes belong to this new humanist tradition.[241]

Such an all-encompassing interpretation of the *uomini famosi* cycles solely in terms of civic humanism glosses over subtle differences in the surviving imagery and tends to relegate these paintings to the level of mere illustrations of Petrarch's *De Viris Illustribus*.[242] To be sure, the Sienese program was linked to a growing interest on the part of local humanists such as Agostino Patrizi and Agostino Dati in constructing foundation legends for the city based in Roman antiquity.[243] While Taddeo had been left largely to his own devices in devising a scheme for the chapel fresco program, the contract for the antechapel commission specifically stipulated that the painter was to follow the directions of the humanists Pietro de' Pecci, a doctor of law at Siena's

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[239] On the theme of *uomini famosi*, see Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the *Sala Virorum Illustrium* in Padua." *The Art Bulletin* 34.2 (1952): 95-116; Maria Monica Donato, "Gli eroi romani tra storia ed 'exemplum': I primi cicli umanistici di Uomini Famosi," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte'italiana*, Salvatore Settis ed. 3 vols. Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1985, vol. 2, 95 – 152; Southard, "Roman Heroes" in *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico,* 95 – 97; and Robert Louis Mode, *The Monte Giordano Famous Men Cycle of Cardinal Giordano Orsini and the "Uomini Famosi" Tradition in Fifteenth-Century Italian Art.* PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970; Ann Arbor: UMI Reprints, 1981.

[240] "This practice, which emerged almost simultaneously in such diverse Italian centers as Milan, Naples, Siena, Padua, Foligno, Florence, Venice, Perugia and Urbino, was dependent upon and developed in tandem with the revival of classical studies experienced in Italy from late Trecento times." Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Poggio and Visual Tradition: "Uomini Famosi" in Classical Literary Description." *Artibus et Historiae* 6.12 (1985), 57-58.

[241] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 194.

[242] See, for example, Mommsen, "Petrarch and the Decoration of the *Sala Virorum Illustrium* in Padua," 95-116.

[243] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 200-205.

university, and Cristofano di Andrea, chancellor of Siena in 1413 and Capitano del Popolo in 1414.[244] Contrary to Rubinstein's claim that the Sienese *uomini famosi* belong solely to a "new humanist tradition," however, they clearly exhibit a number of features also found in the earlier tradition of the Worthies. The Worthies were groups of male and female exemplars of chivalrous behavior, an iconography that had been a popular theme of the French court.[245] The male Worthies were usually divided into triads representing Jewish (Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus), pagan (Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar) and Christian (King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon) heroes, whereas the female Worthies included Amazons and pagan princesses or queens. This format may be seen, for example, in the Sala Baronale at the Castello della Manta near Saluzzo in northern Italy (Fig. 61).[246] The frescoes in the Sala Baronale were painted by a local artist for the regent of Saluzzo, Valerano da Saluzzo, between 1419 and 1424 and present the *Worthies* against a verdant background set along the long wall opposite the entryway to the room with *tituli* inscribed in French located at the base of each figure identifying the individual above (Fig. 62).

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[244] See Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 190. The contract stipulated that Taddeo was to execute "le dette pitture con quelle figure, modi, e forme che gli saranno indicate da Pietro Pecci e ser Cristofano." ASS, Concistoro, 256, c. 20, as cited in Ubaldo Morandi, "Documenti" in Cesare Brandi ed., *Palazzo Pubblico di Siena*, 424.

[245] Anne Dunlop, "A Certain Inborn Suffering: Chambers of Love," in *Painted Palaces: the Rise of Secular Art in Early Renaissance Italy.* University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009, 149. For more on the tradition of the Nine Worthies see James Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman, "The Nine Heroes Tapestries at the Cloisters," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (May 1949): 243 – 260; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984; and *Paris 1400: Les art sous Charles VI*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux / Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2004, 129 – 133 and 220 – 225.

[246] The female Worthies in the Sala Baronale include Deiphile, Sinope, Hippolyta, Semiramis, Ethiopia, Lampedo, Tamyris, Theuca and Penthesilea. For more on the Sala Baronale see Almerino De Angelis and Maria Gattullo eds., *Manta nei secoli: Momenti di arte e di storia.* Cuneo: Comune di Manta, 1998; Giovanni Romano ed., *La Sala Baronale del Castello della Manta.* Milan: Olivetti, 1992; Giuseppe Carità ed., *Le arti alla Manta.* Turin: Galatea, 1992; and Daniel Arasse, "Portrait, mémoire familiale et liturgie dynastique: Valerano-Hector au château de Manta," in *Il ritratto e la memoria,* Augusto Gentili et al eds., 3 vols. Rome: Bulzoni, 1989, I: 93 – 112.

In the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico, Taddeo di Bartolo's murals are arranged on two levels. On the upper register appear a series of female allegorical figures of virtues set in lunettes surrounded by an acanthus frieze from which sprout medallions containing portraits of famous male citizens from ancient Rome (Fig. 63).[247] On the lower level of the wall dividing the antechapel from the council chambers of the magistracies are the principal figures of *uomini famosi* from the Roman Republic. They appear as full-length faux sculptures standing in a fictive open portico, the illusionistic architectural setting establishing a direct link with the space of the beholder. The figures are identified by *tituli* inscribed in Latin hexameters that are located at the base of each individual.

A large inscription occupies the center of the main wall dividing the famous men into two groups of three. Underneath the personification of *Magnanimity* appear *M. Curius Dentatus, M. Furius Camillus*, and *P. Scipio Africanus Major*, all of whom are clad in armor in reference to their military exploits in service to the state (Fig. 64).[248] The group under the allegorical figure of *Justice* is composed of *Cicero, M. Porcius Cato*, and *P. Scipio Nasica* (Fig. 65). These individuals are dressed in clothing evocative of public servants and notaries, emphasizing instead

[247] The figures in the medallions surrounding *Fortitude* are P. Decius Mus, Cato Stoico, T. Manlius Torquatus, and in the spandrel Marcus Junius Brutus. Surrounding *Prudence* are M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Iunius Brutus, Q. Fabius Cunctator, and in the spandrel Caius Laelius. Surrounding *Justice* are C. Mucius Scaevola, C. Fabricius, and M. Curius Dentatus, and on the continuation of the frieze below is Appius Caecus. Surrounding *Magnanimity* are Scipio Africanus Minor, P. Aemilius, and M. Attilius Regulus, and on the continuation of the frieze below is M. Livius Drusus.

[248] Below the figure of Magnanimity is the following inscription: "Nec successibus extollitur nec infortuniis deiicitur, opus eius parcere subiectis et debellare superbos" (Neither are the victors exalted nor the prostrate injured. Its task is to save the submissive and eradicate the proud). The English translation is mine. The inclusion of M. Curius Dentatus and M. Furius Camillus is closely linked to the foundation legends of Siena. In the *Epitome* of Livy, the colony of Senae was established during the consulate of M. Curius Dentatus, while the titulus under Furius Camillus states that the Terzi of Camollia owed its name to Camillus: "Restitui, patriam. Consumpti Gloria Galli Sunt mea; quos etiam victor dum multa ruentes, Hac per rura sequor, nostro de nomine dicta est Camillia, tue pars Urbis terna Senensis."

their civic contributions.[249] At the base of the central inscription is a perspectivally rendered opening in which may be seen a seated child (Fig. 66). The child sports a bowl cropped haircut, a style popular amongst men and young boys in the early fifteenth century.[250] This depiction of up-to-date fashion is an insertion of contemporaneity that interrupts the surrounding cycle of figures from antiquity, the diminutive figure functioning as an interlocutor bridging the ancient past with the present. Staring outwards intensely at the beholder the child points insistently at the inscription which takes the form of a direct address, the use of Italian vernacular indicating the public nature of his salutation:

> Mirror yourselves (*spechiatevi*) in those who stand before you. If you want to rule for thousands and thousands of years, follow the common good (*ben comune*) and do not be deceived by selfish passions. Give just counsel as did those who stand before you. If you only remain united in dealing with common troubles your power and fame will grow. As did that of the great people of Mars, who, having triumphed over the world, became infected by factionalism and lost their liberty in every part.[251]

The inscription establishes the famous Romans as models of republican governance, exemplars whose behavior and conduct was to be emulated by the Sienese governors.

Situated opposite the six Roman heroes and located on the two pillars supporting the arch separating the chapel from the antechapel are full-length representations of *Judas Maccabeus*

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[249] The Latin inscription that runs below the figure of Justice located above these individuals reads "Iustitia omnium virtutum preclarissima regna conservat, propter iniustitiam transferuntur regna decente ingentem" (Justice, of all virtues the most illustrious, preserves governments. Because of injustice governments pass from people to people). The English translation is mine.

[250] Ruth A. Johnston, "Hair," in *All Things Medieval: an Encyclopedia of the Medieval World.* Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, 2011, vol. 1, 322 – 323.

[251] The inscription reads: "Spechiatevi in costoro voi che reggete. Se volete regnare mille et mille anni, seguite il ben comune et non v'inganni se alcuna passione in voi avete. Dritti consegli come quei rendete, che qui di sotto sono co' longhi panni giusti co' l'arme ne' comuni affanni, come questi altri che qua girt vedete. Sempre magiori sarete insieme uniti et saglirete al cielo pieno d'ogni gloria, si come fecie il gran popolo di Marte. El quale, avendo del mondo victoria, Perchè infra loro si furo dentro partiti, perde la libertade in ogni parte.**"** The translation is mine and I preserve the archaic spelling of 'spechiatevi.' For a thorough description and analysis of all of the antechapel's inscriptions, see Rodolfo Funari ed., *Un Ciclo di Tradizione Repubblicana nel Palazzo Pubblico di Siena: Le Iscrizioni degli Affreschi di Taddeo Di Bartolo, 1413-1414*. Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 2002.

and the local *beato Ambrogio Sansedoni* (Figs. 67, 68). Ambrogio's life spanned the thirteenth century making his inclusion in the program unique in that he was the only figure not to have lived in ancient times. In the context of the program's overall emphasis upon social cohesion and unity his presence may, at least in part, be understood in relation to the peacemaking role he performed during his lifetime. During the thirteenth century Siena had been placed under interdict by Clement IV as a result of the city-state having backed the Hohenstaufen in their power struggles with the papacy. In the 1270s Sansedoni was said to have successfully lobbied Pope Gregory X to lift the prohibition.[252] Nicolai Rubinstein suggested that the presence of this figure and that of *Judas Maccabeus* might be explained by the fact that both were patriots.[253] Yet it was also common to see images of Judas Maccabeus in cycles of the Worthies and he appears, for instance, in the Sala Baronale (Fig. 69).[254] His presence in the antechapel program provides an indication of how cycles of the Worthies and *uomini famosi* were not mutually exclusive traditions at this time.[255] It is a reminder of the interest in composite assembly and the borrowing from many different sources often exhibited by examples of early humanist cultural production,

[252] See Giulio Sansedoni, *Vita del Beato Ambrogio Sansedoni*, Libro I, Capitolo XIII, Rome: Mascardi, 1611, 54-63.
[253] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 193, n 91.
[254] Diana Norman also suggested that the presence of Judas Maccabeus in the antechapel could be explained by the fact that he appeared in the iconographic tradition of the Worthies. See Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999, 205. Describing the antechapel frescoes Gail Solberg noted that the "arrangement of figures under an arcade and above Latin *elogie* mirrors the configuration of Roman stoas with sculpted figures, but the spirit conforms with that of medieval Neuf Preux pictorial cycles." See Solberg, "Siena, The Antechapel Frescoes of the Palazzo Pubblico, 1413-1414," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 228.
[255] Judas Maccabeus also appears alongside a number of roman *uomini famosi* in a sequence of frescoes executed at different times between 1429 and 1476 on the vaults of the former council chamber of the Palazzo Comunale at nearby Lucignano. For more on these images see C. L. Joost-Gaugier, "Why Janus at Lucignano? Ovid, Dante, St. Augustine and the First King of Italy." *Acta Historiae Artium* 30, 1984, 109 -22; E. Hlawitschka-Roth, *Die 'uomini famosi' der Sala di Udienza im Palazzo Comunale zu Lucignano: Staatsverständnis und Tugendlehre im Spiegel einer toskanischen Freskenfolge des Quattrocento*, Neuried, 1998; and L. B. T. Houghton, "A Fresco Portrait of Virgil at Lucignano." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66 (2003): 1 - 28.

as represented by the principle of *varietas* as a virtue of all good style and an essential principle of nature.[256]

On the wall below the arch separating the antechapel from the Sala del Consiglio is an image of *Aristotle* (Fig. 70). He holds a scroll that introduces the famous men to the beholder, stressing the philosopher's empiricism:

> I'm the one who, having investigated the principles of things and their ways, taught by what means each state rises to the stars. Behold, most pristine city of Siena, your civic models (*exemplum civile*). I show you these men, if you follow in their sacred footsteps your fame will grow at home and abroad and liberty will always preserve your honour.[257]

Aristotle's scroll establishes an explicit link between the ancient philosopher's investigations into the "principles of things" and his knowledge of political theory, thereby positioning statecraft as a form of empirical knowledge that here takes on visual form.

In the arch above Aristotle are representations of paired pagan gods hovering against a golden background. On the side of the arch closest to Aristotle are *Apollo* and *Pallas Athena* (Fig. 71). Opposite these figures appear *Jupiter* and *Mars* (Fig. 72). Situated at the apex of the arch is a circular map of the city of *Rome* which includes numerous ancient and medieval monuments of the city (Fig. 73). Some scholars have connected this map with the now lost *Mappamondo,* a round wall mounted rotating map of Sienese territory painted by Ambrogio

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[256] On the early humanist taste for composite assemblies of works that borrowed from many different sources see Ida Maïer, *Ange Politien: la Formation d'un Poete Humaniste*, 1469 – 1480. Geneve: Droz, 1966, 213 – 214. Christine Smith has demonstrated that the design principles for the urban renewal of Pius II's Pienza were similarly governed by the quality of *varietas*. See Christine Smith, "Varietas and the Design of Pienza," in *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence, 1400 – 1470.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 98 – 129.

[257] The Latin inscription reads "Ille ego, qui rerum causas scrutatus et artes Publica res docui surgat quibus omnis [in] astra Exemplum civile tuum, preclara Senarum Urbs, tibi monstro viros, quorum vestigia sacra Dum sequeris foris atque domi tua gloria [cre]scet Libertasque tuos semper servabit honor[es]." The translation is mine. The *titulus* below Aristotle reads "Magnus aristoteles ego sum, qui carmine seno, Est enim numerus perfectus, duxit ad actum Quos virtus tibi signo viros, quibus atque superne Res crevit romana potens, celosque subivit."

Lorenzetti in 1344 for the adjacent Sala del Consiglio.[258] As Deborah Kawsky noted, "Taddeo's map would have established a parallel—historical as well as visual—between Siena and Rome."[259]

The presence of the pagan gods on this arch also recalls the arrangement of the planetary deities found in the medallions of the upper borders of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes in the nearby Sala della Pace. Lorenzetti's crowned *Jupiter* holding a scepter signifying his status as the king of the gods and the raised arm of his helmeted *Mars* both anticipate Taddeo's later figures (Figs. 74, 75). Like his predecessor, Taddeo arranged the pagan gods spatially according to a contrapuntal opposition between peace and war. In the Sala della Pace the medallions depicting a monarchical *Jupiter* and belligerent *Mars* are situated in the frieze running above the image of *War in the City and Countryside* found on the west wall, while the placid figure of *Venus* appears in the frieze running above the image of *Peace in the City and Countryside* on the east wall (Fig. 76). In the antechapel cycle a music playing *Apollo* and protective *Pallas Athena* are situated on the part of the arch that springs from the wall on which are situated Aristotle and the primary *uomini famosi,* while the figures of *Jupiter* and *Mars* are situated on the opposite section of the arch. This is the portion adjacent to the wall showing two individuals responsible for the Roman Civil War of 49 – 45 BCE: *Pompeius Magnus* and *Julius Caesar* (Fig. 77). Aristotle excludes these two figures as he gestures towards the famous men on his left as exemplars of civic virtue, an omission explained by their associated *titulus*:

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[258] Edna Carter Southard claimed that Taddeo di Bartolo's map of Rome was probably modelled after the *Mappamondo*. See Southard, *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico,* 240. For more on Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Mappamondo* see Pecci, *Relazione delle cose piu notabili della citta di Siena*, 75-75; Southard, *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico*, 237 – 241; M. Seidel, "'Castrum pingatur in Palatio.' Ricerche storiche e iconografiche sui castelli dipinti nel Palazzo Pubblico," *Prospettiva* 28 (1982): 17-40; and L. Bellosi, "'Castrum pingatur in Palatio.' 2. Duccio e Simone Martini pittori di castelli senesi 'a 1'esenplo come erano" *Prospettiva* 28 (1982): 41-65.

[259] Kawsky, *The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition* 79.

> Look at these men and infuse (*infigite*) your souls with them, o citizens: for the common good followed so long as they kept a concordant mind and the Roman grandeur (*maiestas romana*) shook the world. But then blind ambition led these two to arms, causing Roman liberty to perish and the senate to be cut down, and a child ascended to the head of Rome.[260]

While it is uncertain as to whether the child mentioned was a reference to Julius Caesar, or more likely the youthful Gaius Octavius Thurinus who would become Rome's first emperor, the inscription makes it abundantly clear that the presence of *Pompey* and *Caesar* in the fresco cycle was meant to perform an admonitory function. The warnings about the dangers posed by personal ambitions which led to civil war are reinforced by the imagery associated with the text where *Caesar* is differentiated from the other famous heroes by his regal attire, a feature indicative of his dictatorial ambitions. In constructing this image Taddeo made a subtle reference to the contemporary peninsular political situation. At the time of the commissioning of the frescoes Ladislaus I of Naples had been terrorizing the Tuscan countryside as part of his campaigns to conquer central Italy.[261] Ladislaus was eponymously named in honor of the eleventh-century St. Ladislaus of Hungary and he had a fresco cycle of the saint's life painted in a chapel in the Neapolitan church of Santa Maria dell'Incoronata between 1403 and 1414. St. Ladislaus was usually represented as a medieval knight-king, similar to how Caesar appears in Taddeo's fresco.[262] Indeed, Taddeo's image of Caesar has much in common with contemporary

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[260] The *titulus* reads "Hos spectate viros animisque infigite, cives, Publica concordi nam dum bona mente secuti Maiestas romana duces tremefecit et orbem. Ambitio sed ceca duos ubi traxit ad arma, Libertas romana perit scissoque senatu. Heu licet puero caput alte ascindere rome." The translation is mine.

[261] Both Nicolai Rubinstein and Gail Solberg have previously suggested in the past that the commissioning of the antechamber frescoes was linked to the threat posed by Ladislaus I of Naples. See Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 204 - 205, and Solberg, "The Late Career, 1410-1422," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work,* 231.

[262] For descriptions of the iconography of St. Ladislaus as knight-king, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 187. For accounts of the bust of St. Ladislaus in the cathedral of Gyõr, see László Gyula, "Szent László győri ereklyetartó mellszobráról," *Arrabona* 7 (1965): 157-209, and

images of St. Ladislaus, such as an early fifteenth-century reliquary bust found in the cathedral of Győr, Hungary (Fig. 78).[263] The very real threat posed by the Neapolitan king made Taddeo's representation of Caesar an even more potent and urgent warning of the repercussions of discord.

At a time when the Sienese government had recently liberated itself from foreign rule, the inscriptions associated with the antechapel frescoes repeatedly emphasized political unity over personal ambition by making direct addresses to the beholder. A number of features of the images intensify and reinforce the admonitory tone of these textual addresses. This may be demonstrated by a comparison with the roughly contemporary cycle of *uomini famosi* in the Sala degli Imperatori in the Palazzo Trinci at Foligno. Constructed by Lord Ugolino III Trinci, the Sala degli Imperatori acted as a reception hall for the Trinci regime that ruled Foligno as a semi-autonomous papal state until 1441. The frescoes were commissioned around 1411 and depict a series of massive Roman heroes set in a fictive open portico with inscribed *tituli* (Fig. 79).[264]

As already noted by Rubinstein, the surviving fragments of the *tituli* at Foligno bear some resemblance to those composed for the Palazzo Pubblico.[265] However, an important feature distinguishes the frescoes in Foligno from the Sienese program. The famous individuals that

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Judit H. Kolba, "Szent László az ötvösművészetben," in *Szent László és Somogyvár*, ed. Kálmán Magyar, Kaposvár, 1992, 123–136.

[263] In particular, the striking floral patterning of Caesar's garment recalls the colors and varied floral forms of the cloisonné enamel found on the chest and shoulders of the bust. In the fifteenth century, this type of enameling became known as "Hungarian enamel" throughout Europe. See "Gothic Metalwork," in Colum Hourihane ed., *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, 108.

[264] As a result of a manuscript recently discovered by Laura Lametti, the cycle has been attributed to Gentile da Fabriano and assistants during the years 1411-1412. See Laura Lametti, "Il Manoscritto Intitolato 'Appunti sopra la Città di Foligno: Scritti da Lodovico Coltellini accademico fulginio, Parte nona, 1770-1780,'" in Mancini and Benazzi eds. *Il Palazzo Trincid di Foligno*, 427-445, esp. 428. The document supports the earlier attribution made by Giordana Benazzi in 1999 that had been based on visual analysis. See Giordana Benazzi, "I dipinti di Gentile da Fabriano nel Palazzo Trinci di Foligno: Un restauro rivelatore e un documento ritrovato," in Vittoria Garibaldi ed., *I Lunedì Della Galleria : Grandi Restauri in Umbria: 18 Ottobre-29 Novembre 1999*. Perugia: Quattroemme, 2001, 136-64.

[265] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 204, n. 167.

appear in Foligno include heroes of the Roman Republic as well as prominent kings and emperors.[266] In contrast the figures depicted in the Sienese cycle belong exclusively to the Republican era. It is a distinction that parallels one of the most famous fifteenth-century polemics concerning the interpretation of Roman history: the debate on the relative merits of Scipio Africanus versus those of Julius Caesar.[267] The most well-known proponents of this controversy were Guarino da Verona and Poggio Bracciolini. In a letter entitled *De Caesaris an Scipionis praestantia* and dated 10 April 1435, Poggio portrayed Scipio as a virtuous protector of the Roman Republic while blaming Caesar for its eventual downfall.[268] In June of the same year Guarino—a tutor to the Ferrarese prince Leonello d'Este—responded with a defense of Caesar as an admirable founder of the Roman Empire.[269] It should come as no surprise that a member of a princely court was defending the autocratic leanings of Caesar while a humanist residing in the Florentine Republic chose to valorize Scipio as a defender of liberty.

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[266] Amongst the fifteen surviving figures in the Sala degli Imperatori are Augustus, Tiberius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, M. Curius Dentatus, Titus Manlius Torquatus, Cincinnatus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Scipio Africanus, Scaevola, Cato the Elder, Gaius Marius, Publius Decius Mus, Gaius Claudius Nero, and Fabius Maximus Cunctator. From records of the now mostly lost *tituli* we know that the program also included figures of Romulus, Julius Caesar, Caligula, Pompey, and Trajan. Several manuscripts record the now mostly lost *tituli*. For transcripts of the Latin epigrams see Angelo Messini, "Documenti per la storia del Palazzo Trinci di Foligno," *Rivista d'arte* 24, 1942, 74 – 98 and Roberto Guerrini, "Uomini di Pace e di Guerra che l'aurea Roma generò: Fonti antiche e tradizione classica negli epigrammi di Francesco da Fiano per la Sala degli Imperatori," *Anthologia Latina*, Riese, 1906, 831 – 855. For English translations of the epigrams see Anne Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*, 279 – 283, n. 63.

[267] On the controversy, see G. Crevatin, "La politica e la retorica. Poggio e la controversia su Cesare e Scipione. Con una nuova edizione della lettera a Scipione Mainenti," in *Poggio Bracciolini, 1380 – 1980*, Florence, 1982; and Hester Schadee, "Caesarea Laus: Ciriaco d'Ancona Praising Caesar to Leonardo Bruni." *Renaissance Studies* 22.4 (2008): 435 – 449. The fifteenth-century debate over the merits of Scipio versus Caesar was an extension of the fourteenth-century controversy surrounding the assassination of Caesar. Dante considered the act a treacherous murder, for example, while Boccaccio viewed it as a legitimate tyrannicide. See Dante, *Inferno*, canto 4, line 123 and canto 34; and *Paradiso*, canto 6, and Boccaccio, *Il Comento alla Divina Commedia.* Domenico Guerri ed., Bari: Giuseppe Laterza and Sons, 1918, vol. 1, 205, and vol. 2, 49, as cited in Sarah Blake McHam, "Donatello's Bronze "David" and "Judith" as Metaphors of Medici Rule in Florence." *The Art Bulletin* 83.1 (2001), 36.

[268] Schadee, "Caesarea Laus: Ciriaco d'Ancona Praising Caesar to Leonardo Bruni," 435.

[269] Ibid.

The fresco cycles in Siena and Foligno participated in this polemic by adopting differing positions on the relative merits of princely versus republican politics. These distinctions were also visualized through diverging approaches to the body. The Foligno figures are enormous, standing at approximately twice life size, and their countenances possess a haughty bearing. With perhaps the exceptions of Augustus and Gaius Marius, who might be seen as looking down upon visitors to the room with an attitude of disdain, most of these figures do not regard the beholder at all. Some stare blankly into the distance, imbuing the figures with a profound sense of interiority (Fig. 80). Others look at the individuals standing next to them (Fig. 81). The resulting effect is one of profound indifference to the presence of any visitor standing in the room.

The figures in the Palazzo Pubblico could not provide for a stronger contrast. There, almost every individual closely watches us. Scrutinizing our presence they seem to inquire as to our purposes. As he stares intently at those standing in the antechapel *M. Porcius Cato* pulls open his cloak to reveal a sword hilt (Fig. 82). Others blatantly brandish weapons in a threatening manner that is only intensified by their unflinching gaze (Fig. 83). This penetrating stare carries an authoritative tone and establishes an unequal power relationship as beholders standing below are in turn made to feel beheld. Just as the textual inscriptions make clear attempts to directly address the reader, the aggressive outward glares of these figures lend the frescoes a profound sense of engaging with anyone present in the antechapel.

Here it is important to recall that vision at this time was not understood solely as a passive faculty but also possessed a forceful power. In the late fourteenth century the Franciscan friar Roger Bacon (ca. 1219 – ca. 1292) proposed that the faculty of vision was not only a recipient of visual flux or radiation (*species*) emanating from an object but also involved a form

of *species* that radiated from the eye and engaged with and activated the *species* emitted by seen objects.[270] Bacon's optical theory (*Perspectiva*) represented an attempt to synthesize the intromission and extramission theories of vision.[271] To briefly summarize the distinctions between these dominant models of vision in medieval optical theory, intromission proposed that *species* emanated from objects to enter into the eye where they would leave an impression while extramission postulated that *species* emanated from the eye and, upon touching objects, allowed for vision to occur. Seeing was therefore understood as reciprocal in nature; the faculty of vision possessed a active agent or *virtus visiva* capable of impacting the beheld object.[272] These optical theories maintained relevance well into the fifteenth century.[273] A catalog produced in 1481 for

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[270] For more on the historical background of Roger Bacon's optical theories see David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976; and David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon's Philosophy of Nature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

[271] As Christopher Lakey has recently demonstrated, from the ancient Greeks onward competing theories of vision were more complicated than a simple polarity between the Platonic model of vision (extramission) and the Aristotelian model (intromission). Individual theorists often retained elements of both theories. See Christopher R. Lakey, "Embodied Seeing," in *Sculptural Seeing: Relief, Optics, and the Rise of Perspective in Medieval Italy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018, 19 – 38.

[272] "Sed an hec species seu virtus visiva seu radii visuales fiant ab oculo usque ad rem visam dubium fuit semper apud sapientes. Sed Aristoteles sua dissolvit auctoritate decimo nono *De animalibus* hanc questionem, dicens quod nichil aliud est videre quam virtutem visivam fieri ad rem visam" (But whether this species or visual power or these visual rays proceed from the eye to the visible object was always a matter of doubt among the [ancient] sages. However, Aristotle resolves this question on his own authority in *On Animals*, book 19, stating that seeing is nothing other than the visual power extending to the visible object). See Roger Bacon, "Perspectiva" in David C. Lindberg, *Roger Bacon and the Origins of Perspectiva in the Middle Ages: A critical Edition and English Translation of Bacon's Perspectiva with Introduction and Notes.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, 100-101.

[273] Lorenzo Valla, for instance, seems to have preferred the extramissionist theory: "It is much easier for the soul to extend through the rays of the eye to the colours, than for the colours to come to the eye" (ut multo facilius anima colores radiis oculorum invadat, quam quod colores ad ipsos oculos sese ferant). See Lorenzo Valla, *Repastinatio dialectice et philosophie*. Gianni Zippel ed., Patavii: In Aedibus Antenoreis, 1982, vol. 2, 445 – 446, as cited in Lodi Nauta, "Lorenzo Valla and the Limits of Imagination," in Lodi Nauta and Detlev Patzold eds., *Imagination in the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Times.* Leuven: Peeters, 2004, 100. The English translation is mine. It is interesting to note that in a later redaction of Valla's text he appears to have eliminated any discussion of visual rays, although he still sides with Macrobius and Lactantius in arguing that the power of vision extends from the eye towards the object: "Do objects go to their senses or senses to their objects? The Peripatetics believe that colors go to sight, sounds to hearing. But to Macrobius and many other philosophers, including Lactantius, it seems that the power of perceiving goes to [as in towards] the object" (obiecta tendere ad sensus suos, an sensus ad sua obiecta? Peripateticis placet colores tendere ad visum, sonos ad auditum.Macrobio cum multis

the library of the Franciscans at San Francesco in Siena lists a number of texts by optical theorists, including volumes by John Peckham, Robert Grosseteste, and a copy of the *Tractatus Moralis de Oculo* by Peter of Limoges. The collection also included a number of volumes by Peter Aureol, who was interested in the moral implications of optical theory, as well as a group of anonymous texts labeled "*Prospectiva*," and at least one text by the ninth-century Arabic philosopher and optical theorist Abu Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn ʾIsḥāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī.[274] It may have been the case that Taddeo di Bartolo was purposefully engaging with contemporary attitudes towards the psychology of perspective by imbuing his figures with forceful gazes that produce in the beholder a keen sensation of being seen.[275]

The tense atmosphere produced by the staring eyes of the *uomini famosi* in the Palazzo Pubblico is enhanced by the claustrophobic space of the fictive porticoes, the tipped-up perspective of the floor on which the figures stand, and by the way they are brought close to the picture plane. This is especially evident in the rendering of the individuals shown wearing armor. *M. Curius Dentatus* seems to lean outwards from the portico while *Scipio Africanus* has stepped

philosophis, nec non Lactantio, videntur vis ipsa cernendi tendere ad obiectum). See Lorenzo Valla, *Dialectical Disputations*. Brian P. Copenhaver and Lodi Nauta eds. and trans. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2012, 278 – 279. The portion of text cited in the Zippel translation was from the earliest edition of Valla's text, composed ca. 1439, while the edition translated by Copenhaver and Nauta was Valla's last redaction, composed beginning ca. 1449 and worked on up until Valla's death in 1457. See Copenhaver and Nauta, "Introduction," in *Dialectical Disputations*, x and xl. For a recent discussion of the continued relevance of Perspectivist models of vision in the fifteenth century see A. Mark Smith, "The Assimilation of Perspectivist Optics During the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance," in *From Sight to Light.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014, 278 – 321.

[274] The complete catalog is in Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth* Century, 50-165.

[275] For recent studies that have investigated the intersections between artistic production and Perspectivist models of vision see Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Camera Picta: Visuality and Pathos." *Art History* 37.2 (2014), 328-329; Marcia Kupfer, *Art and Optics in the Hereford Map.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016; Herbert L. Kessler and Richard G. Newhauser eds., *Optics, Ethics, and Art in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2018; and Lakey, *Sculptural Seeing*, 2018.

so close to the picture plane that his feet threaten to obscure the inscription with which he is identified. The overtly aggressive postures adopted by these figures also suggest an apotropaic function. Being the first of the *uomini famosi* that any visitor to the space would encounter they appear almost as sentries guarding the inner chambers of the Palazzo Pubblico.

Visual conceits such as the fictive open portico are also present at Foligno. There the portico is composed of foreshortened pilasters and ribs seemingly made of alternating red and white stone. The figures are set against a deep blue sky and stand upon a verdant field, a motif that is similar to that found in the Sala Baronale at the Castello della Manta. The cycle of gigantic heroic Romans is interrupted with a faux architectural scene located at one end of the room where smaller figures are set on balconies that seem to project into the space of the beholder (Fig. 84). Appearing like spectators at a theatre these diminutive figures wear fifteenth-century clothing and were perhaps meant to represent members of the Trinci regime (Fig. 85).[276] Their disruption of chronological continuity functions in a manner similar to that performed by the young child that introduces the *uomini famosi* at Siena. Here the figures peer outwards at the frescoed scenery, although they do not seem particularly interested in the enormous Roman heroes surrounding them. In their acting as images that attempt to gaze upon other images these figures create a sense of play with the other effects of artifice employed in the fresco cycle. In doing so they invite the beholder to contemplate their own relationship to the surrounding images.

At the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena a similar play upon scale was employed. There the proportions of the *uomini famosi* are dwarfed by their being situated adjacent to Taddeo's earlier

[276] Anne Dunlop has suggested that the two diminutive figures on the larger balcony were evocations of Ugolino Trinci and his wife Costanza Orsini. See Dunlop, "History Portraits and Painting," in *Painted Palaces,* 198.

image of an enormous figure of *St. Christopher* located on the counter-facade of the entrance to the antechapel (Fig. 86). This visual juxtaposition emphasized the proximity in scale between a beholder and the *uomini famosi*, encouraging identification with these life-size figures. Images of Christopher were common on the inner wall of church facades where they traditionally performed apotropaic functions protecting against the evil eye, vision disorders, and sudden death.[277] On one level, then, the figure of *Christopher* could protect the eyesight and lives of worshipers leaving the palace chapel. On another level the saint's association with ocular health and his contiguity with the *uomini famosi* might enhance the effectiveness of the watchful Roman heroes; a talismanic juxtaposition that could increase the potency of their staring eyes.

The differences in attitude adopted by the figural elements in the fresco cycles at Siena and Foligno are an indication of the different webs of power within which each program operated. The Sala degli Imperatori was produced for a lordship (*signoria*) and the indifferent demeanor adopted by the figures there likely arose out of concerns for maintaining courtly decorum and producing a sense of sovereign authority.[278] Jean-Baptiste Delzant has recently demonstrated the different ways that the Trinci regime under Ugolino III embarked upon a

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[277] Christopher was a highly popular protective saint, and was venerated at more than 3000 sites in Europe. For more on the saint see H.F. Friedrich Rosenfeld, *Der hl. Christophorus, Seine Verehrung und Seine Legende: Eine Untersuchung zur Kultgeographie und Legendenbildung des Mittelalters*. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag O. Harrassowitz, 1937. It was believed that it was impossible to die on a day when one had glanced at an image of St. Christopher. For more on his apotropaic functions, see Yvonne Bittmann, *Standort und Funktion von Christophorusfiguren im Mittelalter.* PhD Dissertation, Universität Heidelberg, 2003. The basis for Christopher's association with ocular health is related to the saint's *vita* in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend.* When the pagan king of Samos ordered his archers to fire arrows at Christopher's bound body the arrows miraculously hung frozen in midair before one of the arrows turned back and struck the tyrant in the eye, blinding him. Following the beheading of Christopher on the next day the king took up some of the saint's blood and rubbed it on his eyes, restoring his vision. See Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*. William Granger Ryan trans. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012, 400.

[278] Stephen Campbell has interpreted the mute obliviousness of the portrayed figures in Mantegna's *Camera Picta* at the Gonzaga palace at Mantua as, at least in part, reflecting concerns for real-life protocols of courtly conduct, and that the aloof indifference of the pictured individuals magnified the "effects of sovereign power and authority." Campbell, "Mantegna's Camera Picta," 315-318.

systematic appropriation of public space in Foligno as a means to assert the legitimacy of its claims to power.[279] This was achieved through a program of rewriting history in a manner that positioned the Trinci family as Trojan descendants and ancient founders of the urban community.[280] The commissioning of the frescoes in the Sala degli Imperatori can be understood as an extension of this program of legitimization. The robust, monumental frames of the Palazzo Trinci figures express permanence and stability while their largely aloof attitudes establish a power relationship that placed the beholder in a subordinate subject position.

At Siena the frescoes were commissioned by a republican government composed of a fragile coalition of competing factions, the city having only recently liberated itself from foreign rule. The aggressive, scrutinizing gazes of Taddeo's *uomini famosi* need to be understood as not only representing but also producing, defining, and maintaining the power structures that the new republican regime was attempting to establish in the city. Suspicion amongst the elements making up the fragile coalition was rampant, as evidenced by the repeated need to enact peacemaking oaths throughout the century, and the surveillance performed by Taddeo's figures was a literal embodiment of such distrustful attitudes.[281]

In comparison to the imperiously comported countenances of the famous men at Foligno most of Taddeo's figures possess rather haggard and wrinkled visages characterized by disheveled hair and scruffy beards. The Palazzo Trinci frescoes show massive, heavyset

[279] Jean-Baptiste Delzant, "Instaurator et fundator: édification de la seigneurie urbaine et présence monumentale de la commune (Italie centrale, fin du Moyen Âge), in Marc Boone and Martha C. Howell eds., *The Power of Space in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Cities of Italy, Northern France and the Low Countries*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, 97-122.
[280] The claim that the Trinci were Trojan descendants appears in the *Quadriregio* of Federico Frezzi, one of their court humanists. See Federico Frezzi, *Il Quadriregio*, ed. Enrico Filippini, Bari: Giuseppe Laterza e Figli, 1914, 90 – 94, as cited in Dunlop, *Painted Palaces*, 285, n. 73. For more on the Trinci court see Pietro Lai, "Alla Corte dei Trinci: La Cultura al Servizio del Signore," in *Il Palazzo Trinci di Foligno*, 195 – 216.
[281] On the peacemaking oaths see Shaw, "Peace-Making Rituals in Fifteenth-Century Siena." 227 - 231.

individuals whose thick, almost pneumatic hands are quite different from the bony and weathered hands seen in Taddeo's more svelte figures. Gail Solberg situated the pictorial mode seen in the antechapel fresco cycle as part of a general stylistic development of Taddeo's supposed 'late style' in which "etched lines to define folds of flesh in the neck and wrists, in the faces of elderly saints, and in the ankles of the Christ Child are characteristic."[282] Yet these features were almost certainly not simply a matter of a teleological stylistic development on the part of the artist. Rather they were almost certainly deliberately chosen.

At least one incentive for the painter having employed elements such as wrinkles and unkempt facial hair for his famous Romans would have been to give a greater sense that these figures were to be seen as portraits of historical beings. Compared with the narrative scenes from the Life of the Virgin in the Cappella de'Signoria, the cycle of *uomini famosi* demonstrates a much greater interest in providing individualizing features by drawing upon some of the pictorial conventions associated with portraiture. The artist has given his six famous Romans poses just off from fully frontal with most having one foot brought closer to the picture plane than the other. This has the effect of turning the body slightly in space as is further suggested by most of the figures also having one shoulder dropped back while the other is drawn forward. As a result the faces are rendered in an ever so slight three-quarter pose. The clothing worn by the famous Romans is also much more detailed and the facial features are less formulaic than may be seen in the narrative scenes from the Life of the Virgin.

In developing an interest in the close observation of facial physiognomies the painter may have been inspired by some elements of antique sculpture. Recently Sarah Elizabeth Cree

[282] Solberg, "The Late Career, 1410-1422," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 267.

examined Taddeo's "self-conscious engagement with ancient art."[283] Working against the lingering assumption that artists in Siena were not as engaged with the study of antiquity as elsewhere, Cree argued that ancient art served as a key source of artistic inspiration for the painter. Looking at figures with arms either bound or partially bound by drapery which had been a reoccurring element in fourteenth-century Sienese polyptychs, Cree proposed that the motif had been archeologically informed by ancient Roman funerary reliefs (Fig. 87).[284] A number of funerary relief portraits found on the facades of tombs that lined the roads leading away from Rome remained in situ during the trecento and quattrocento allowing artists easy access to these images. The most common male type represented on these funerary reliefs was the "togatus with arm sling," and it is from these models that Cree suggests the motif of the bound arm entered into the visual vocabulary of artists, patrons, and beholders in late medieval Siena (Fig. 88).[285]

In the Palazzo Pubblico the figure of *Publius Scipio Nasica* is shown with his arm partially bound in his flowing red drapery in a manner recalling the popular ancient tomb motif (Fig. 65). Yet I am less interested in identifying secure sources for this particular element than in exploring the possibility that Taddeo had been inspired by other aspects of Roman funerary sculpture. That the painter would have been interested in sculptural models for his cycle of famous men should not come as a surprise. The full-length figures were meant to evoke

[283] Sarah Elizabeth Cree, *Taddeo di Bartolo and the Uses of the Past in Early Quattrocento Painting*, PhD Dissertation, Yale University, Ann Arbor: UMI, 2010 (3414997), 135.
[284] Cree, *Taddeo di Bartolo and the Uses of the Past in Early Quattrocento Painting*, 132. Cree claimed that the painter's use of the "bound arm motif" seen in ancient Roman funerary relief sculpture needs to be understood as part of a "proto-archeological use of ancient objects." See Cree, *Taddeo di Bartolo and the Uses of the Past in Early Quattrocento Painting*, 160.
[285] Cree, *Taddeo di Bartolo and the Uses of the Past in Early Quattrocento Painting*, 135. Cree acknowledges that the bound arm was also a popular element in Byzantine art but finds it "more probable that the formal affinities between these objects and [Sienese] polyptych panels result from a common source in the Roman funerary relief portraits." See Cree, *Taddeo di Bartolo and the Uses of the Past in Early Quattrocento Painting*, 132.

sculptures set in an open portico and the rendering of the drapery in particular often takes on a tactile, sculptural dimension.[286] This is particularly evident in the plasticity of the drapery worn by *Cicero, M. Porcius Cato*, and *P. Scipio Nasica*, and the foreshortened upper portion of the shield that seems to wrap around *Curius Dentatus* and project slightly outwards. As previously noted by Nicolai Rubinstein, the way the *uomini famosi* combine the representation of fictive sculptures with Latin *tituli* may also have been intended to evoke antique statues with their accompanying *elogia*.[287]

Indeed, some of the features of the costume worn by the three heroic soldiers suggest that the painter purposefully sought to evoke aspects of antique armor. Rubinstein claimed that "like Roman legionaries, they carry sword and *pilum*, and in the case of Curius Dentatus and Scipio Africanus, the *clipeus*."[288] This is only partially correct, however, as the figure of *Curius Dentatus* carries not a *pilum* but a style of halberd that was popular in the fifteenth century while the shield behind him does not correspond to the traditional round or ovoid form of a *clipeus.* It appears to be convex like a Roman *scutum*, yet it is tapered at the bottom which was a feature common to late-medieval shields.[289] The helmet is also clearly not a Roman *galea* and more closely corresponds to a fifteenth-century flanged *sallet*. More historically accurate are the lion-

[286] Gail Solberg claimed that certain elements of Taddeo's *uomini famosi* suggest an awareness of contemporary work by Florentine sculptors on niche figures for public buildings such as Orsanmichele. See Solberg, "The Late Style," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work,* 273 - 274. In support of Taddeo's interest in sculpture, Solberg pointed to the painter's close working relationship with Sienese sculptors and woodworkers during the first decade of the fifteenth century. This included creating designs for Domenico di Niccolò's intarsiated choir stalls for the Cappella de'Signoria, and the painting the polychromy on sculptures by the artist Francesco di Valdambrino, whose works for this period also reveal a keen interest in exploring mimetic elements. See Solberg, "Siena, 1399-1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work,* 199-201.
[287] See Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 195.
[288] Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 206.
[289] For more on the typology and morphology of medieval armor see David Nicolle ed., *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour*. Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2002.

heads that decorate the greaves worn by *Scipio Africanus,* the segmented plate armor or *lorica segmentata* worn by *Curius Dentatus* and *Furius Camillus,* and the *pteryges* that extend from the waists to just above the knees of these last two figures.[290] In addition, *Furius Camillus* wears a red cloak that evokes the red *sagum* worn by Roman soldiers. The fillet on his head also bears some resemblance to those found on a number of Roman sculptures. Like the figures of *Cicero, M. Porcius Cato*, and *P. Scipio Nasica,* who wear clothing that fuses aspects of contemporary civic dress with elements of Roman clothing, the armor worn by the three Roman soldiers combines both ancient and fifteenth-century forms. Such anachronistic combinations of fashion were in all likelihood not a "mindless mirroring of the contemporary" on the part of the painter.[291] Rather, the conspicuous blending of antique modes of dress with recognizably up to date styles presented Siena as a direct successor to the Roman Republic.

Taddeo's interest in antique sculpture may have extended beyond attempts to evoke elements of Roman attire and bodily comportment. A number of tomb reliefs produced during the late Roman Republic employed a representational mode known as the veristic portrait.[292]

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[290] For more on the typology and morphology of ancient Roman armor see M. C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment: from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome.* London: B.T. Batsford, 1993.

[291] Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood have discussed fashion in fifteenth-century painting in terms of the ancient literary theoretical concept of decorum or the appropriateness of expression and behaviour to character and situation, noting that mid-century authors such as Filarete warned painters against dressing the figures of Caesar and Hannibal in modern costumes. For Nagel and Wood this was a sign of the development of a "new antiquarianism" which supposedly sought to remove signs of contemporaneity from religious images, whereas in earlier periods "context-reflexive features, those aspects of an artwork that belong to the time of its manufacture, are in principle invisible. The traces of the present are simply overlooked." Such an account does not acknowledge the ways in which painters such as Taddeo di Bartolo may have knowingly combined references to antique and contemporary fashion in order to satisfy a semantic purpose. See Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, "Fashion in Painting," in *Anachronic Renaissance*. New York: Zone Books, 2010, 93 – 94.

[292] Two fundamental texts on veristic portraiture of the late roman republic are Gisela M.A. Richter, "The origin of verism in Roman portraits." *Journal of Roman Studies* 45, no. 1-2 (1955): 39-46, and Sheldon Nodelman, "How to read a Roman Portrait." *Art in America* 63, no. 1 (1975): 26-33. For more recent discussions of the topic see Jeremy Tanner, "Portraits, power, and patronage in the late Roman Republic." *Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000): 18-50 and "Forging Identity in the Roman Republic: Trojan

These images often depicted a male aristocrat bearing the signs of advanced age including deep creases in the forehead and around the eyes, bald or receding hairlines, and sunken cheeks and temples (Fig. 89).[293] Descriptions of the veristic mode usually characterize it as a form of hyperrealism that avoided idealizing tendencies. Artists preferred the prosaic and made efforts to render details such as wrinkles, warts, and moles as though mapping facial topography was the primary artistic concern.

Yet the phenomenon of veristic portraiture must not be understood purely as the product of a concern with direct imitation of facial contours and it is likely that many of the images do not accurately depict a specific individual. Such physiognomies were transliterated into a pictorial idiom that interacted with Roman social and political discourses in which fat and muscle deposits corresponded to an individual's social status and ethical conduct.[294] A moral dimension is often ascribed to these elderly and emaciated figures leading some to claim that the haggard facial features revealed to the eye disciplined "men who valued morals, character and

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Ancestry and Veristic Portraiture," in Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen eds., *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008: 97-131.

[293] The emaciated appearance of some of these portraits, possessing features such as pronounced cheekbones and relaxed, downturned mouths, have led some scholars to postulate that some ancient roman artists had worked from death mask models. See David Jackson, "Verism and the ancestral portrait." *Greece and Rome* 34 (1987): 32-47 and John Pollini, "Ritualizing Death in Republican Rome: Memory, Religion, Class Struggle, and the Wax Ancestral Mask Tradition's Origin and Influence on Veristic Portraiture'," in Nicola Laneri ed., *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007: 237-85.

[294] Mark Bradley has studied the significance of visible signs of emaciation in ancient Roman art arguing that features such as sunken eyes, bony cheeks and skeletal torsos represented a "conspicuous differentiation from the idealized norm," and that these features brought with them various sets of political and moral associations that distinguished the subject matter from the vast majority of somatic representations. Mark Bradley, "Obesity, Corpulence and Emaciation in Roman Art." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 79 (2011), 2 – 4, 27. David Jackson wrote of the need to "transliterate" the literal attention to detail, the recording of each outer facet or peculiarity of the sitter, into the language of art. See Jackson, "Verism and the ancestral portrait," 32.

service to the state."[295] On the other end of the spectrum excessive corpulence was understood as signifying decadence.[296] These ideas were codified in ancient philosophical and medical texts on the "science" of physiognomy which proposed a correspondence between the appearance of the face and an individual's character.[297] Thus, the physical body could be understood as an index of ethical behavior in ancient Roman politics and visible signs of emaciation and advanced age were linked to ideas of individual self-mastery and political authority. The stern expressions and elderly features of these images were meant to not only evoke the *gravitas*, or composed stature and stately body language of an elite male Roman citizen, but to reinforce these bodily comportments as central components to the continued sustenance of a deeply patriarchal

[295] Charles Brian Rose, "Forging Identity in the Roman Republic: Trojan Ancestry and Veristic Portraiture," in Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen eds., *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008, 102. Mark Gregory D'Apuzzo has discussed the significance of the form of elder veneration espoused by Cicero in his *De Senectute* in relation to the veristic representational mode seen in some art of the late Roman Republic. See Mark Gregory D'Apuzzo, "Lo specchio del mos maiorum," in *I Segni Del Tempo: Metamorfosi Della Vecchiaia Nell'Arte Dell'Occidente*. Bologna: Compositori, 2006, 79 – 89.

[296] When Plutarch described Cato the Elder accusing an obese knight of incompetence in public affairs, the evidence of ineptitude was to be found in his overabundance of flesh: "How can such a body be useful to the city, when everything between its throat and its groin is occupied by belly?" See Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Elder*, 9.5, as cited in Bradley, "Obesity, Corpulence and Emaciation in Roman Art," 9.

[297] The surviving texts, in Greek or Arabic, were unknown before the second half of the twelfth century and little read before their systematic reception in the thirteenth century by scholars such as Albertus Magnus. Michael Scot and Roger Bacon expanded upon these ideas by writing texts of their own on physiognomic theory. See Willibald Sauerländer, "The Fate of the Face in Medieval Art," in Charles T. Little ed., *Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Art.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, 4. By the fourteenth century a number of these treatises had become popular at aristocratic courts as readers hoped to find a way to judge the true character of their fellow courtiers. Once again the "science" proposed that various physical attributes could reveal hidden traits: small ears indicated a dull and lecherous mind, for example, while an emaciated face revealed prudence and a subtle intellect. See Stephen Perkinson, "Sculpting Identity," in *Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Art,* 122. For more on the theories of physiognomy in the thirteenth century see Roger Bacon, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, pt. 5, *Secretum secretorum*, Roger Steele ed. Oxford, 1920, 164 – 172. On the courtly readers of these texts see Steven J. Williams, "The Vernacular Tradition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian 'Secret of Secrets' in the Middle Ages: Translations, Manuscripts, Readers," in Nadia Bray and Loris Sturlese eds., *Filosofia in volgare nel medioevo: Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana per lo Studio del Pensiero Medievale (S.I.S.P.M), Lecce, 27 – 29 settembre 2002,* Louvain-La-Neuve, 2003, 451 – 82.

society.[298] At its root this is the key function of such civic exemplars; the reification and normalization of certain codes of behavior through their visualization.

It is my contention that precisely at the moment when the newly restored republican government of Siena was looking to the Roman Republic as an model of ethico-political conduct, Taddeo adapted some aspects of veristic portraiture for his *uomini famosi*.[299] The use of elements such as deep creases on the forehead and around the eyes, wrinkled, sunken cheeks with pronounced cheekbones, and stubbly, unkempt beards suggest a translation of the pictorial conventions associated with verism into a Sienese idiom.[300] The heightened descriptive mode

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[298] Jeremy Tanner describes *gravitas* as "a weightiness which was once exterior and physical as well as intellectual and moral, manifested in reduced emotional expression and constancy (*constantia*) in all circumstances in one's dealings with clients, gravity in style of speaking (*graviter dicere, sententia gravis*), and a certain moral rigour or *severitas*, both in one's personal conduct and in one's dealing with clients." According to Tanner, "these qualities were a prerogative of age. Severity of visage combined with weightiness of stature and a certain stateliness of movement represented the physical expression of the moral qualities of the ideal patron...On a social level, verism, stressing the age, gravity, and severity of the sitter, functions as a visual metaphor which invokes the moral contract, *fides*, the shared normative culture, between the two parties to the relationship." Tanner, "Portraits, power, and patronage in the late Roman Republic," 33-35

[299] Taddeo spent a nomadic decade from 1390-99. During this period the painter would have had ample opportunity to study any ancient sculpture encountered along the way. The painter made two trips to Liguria (1393, 1398) working in Genoa, Finalborgo and Triora. His sojourns also included trips to Pisa, Perugia and Padua, as well as a number of other smaller communities. For more on Taddeo's nomadic period see Gail Solberg, "The Decade of Travel, 1390-1399," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 36-136. During the years that Taddeo was working on the *uomini famosi* cycle the Florentine sculptor Nanni di Banco employed some of the same conventions for his sculptural group *Four Crowned Saints,* carved for the niche of the stonemasons' guild on Orsanmichele between 1409-1417. The third figure from the left, the so-called "middle-aged saint," possesses a stubbly beard covering the tendons of the neck, while heavy wrinkles define the upper and lower eyelids. Crow's-feet appear at the sides of the eye sockets and deep creases stretch across the forehead. The weight of the flesh in the cheeks, nose, and chin is rendered uneven, enhancing the sense of an individual being. For Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Marc Bormand, Nanni di Banco's reference to Roman veristic portraiture distinguished the sanctity of these figures by "moral power rather than devoutness," the figures embodying "true civic models." See Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Marc Bormand, "On Primacy" in Strozzi and Bormand eds. *The Springtime of the Renaissance,* 23. For more on Nanni di Banco's early experiments in mimesis in these sculptures, see Mary Bergstein, "Nanni Di Banco, Donatello, and Realism in the "Testa Virile"." *Notes in the History of Art* 5.3 (1986): 8-11.

[300] Stephen Campbell and Stephen Milner have described Giovanni di Paolo's rendition of Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* as a similar instance of "cultural translation": "[Giovanni di Paolo] was not 'failing' to produce an accurate copy, but re-rendering the invention of Gentile in terms of the distinctive formal treatments of Sienese art." See Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner,

seen in the *uomini famosi* is even more striking when one compares them with the more abstract and idealized facial features of the pagan gods that appear under the arch separating the antechapel from the Sala del Consiglio or those of the female personifications of the virtues in the lunettes above (Figs. 90, 91).[301] The porcelain-like features of these figures suggests a timeless realm. In contrast, with the *uomini famosi* the passage of time is etched into flesh in the form of bags that appear under eyes and deep-set creases stretching across faces and necks. *Scipio Africanus* is shown with wild, disheveled hair and carries an almost sickly pallor that is suggestive of undernourishment or exhaustion (Fig. 92). Similar emaciated features characterize the faces of *Marcus Junius Brutus* and *Caius Laelius* in the portrait medallions on the spandrels above the arch separating the chapel from the antechapel (Figs. 93, 94). The face of *Ambrogio Sansedoni* possesses great creases of heavy sagging flesh in the cheeks and deep crevices for wrinkles around the eyes, indicating his advanced age (Fig. 95).

Perhaps it was elements such as these that led Raimond van Marle to judge Taddeo's famous men as "rudely executed and uncomely."[302] Yet the combined effect of these physiognomic features suggests that the *uomini famosi* were designed to be seen not so much as refined aristocrats than as individuals who had suffered hardships and privations. The stern expressions and haggard appearance of the famous Romans embodied the *gravitas* and *severitas* of statesmen who had practiced self-discipline. Taken as a whole Taddeo's heroes appear to have given much while having little regard for their own wellbeing. Nicolai Rubinstein recognized

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"Introduction: Art, Identity, and Cultural Translation in Renaissance Italy," in Stephen J. Campbell and Stephen J. Milner eds., *Artistic Exchange and Cultural Translation in the Italian Renaissance City.* Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 5.

[301] While it could be argued that these differences may simply be the result of workshop involvement, the consistent idealization of these figures in comparison to the more individualizing facial aspects of the *uomini famosi* suggests a purposeful shift in representational strategy.

[302] Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff, vol. 2, 1924, 564.

this aspect already in 1958 when he claimed that the figures seemed to illustrate Remigio de' Girolami's praise of virtuous Romans who were "more concerned about the common good than their own."[303]

A survey of the existing historiography on Taddeo di Bartolo suggests that the painter had earlier exhibited an interest in portraiture.[304] The figure of *Judas Thaddeus*, located beneath a vision of the hovering Virgin in the 1401 *Assumption* altarpiece in the cathedral of Montepulciano, has been put forward as a self-portrait of the artist by more than one art historian (Fig. 96).[305] Here I am less interested in attempting to determine definitively whether or not Taddeo actually employed some of his own physiognomic features in representing his name-saint than in how the artist achieved a sense of "portraitness." One of the ways he did this was by creating an "aesthetic of resemblance" to which subsequent beholders have responded, a concept I borrow from Jeanette Kohl. According to Kohl, the sculptor Donatello utilized individualizing features in his bronze bust of San Rossore of ca. 1425 in order to create the impression of a portrait of a particular individual (Fig. 97):

> The bust of San Rossore entices its contemplator with its compelling resemblance to a "real" person: the pronounced mouth with full, well-shaped lips, the slender face with a pointed chin covered by a nicely groomed beard and stubble on the lower cheeks, the slightly irregular and pointed nose with its narrow bridge, the high cheekbones and bushy eyebrows, the high, curved and furrowed forehead whose deep horizontal corrugations

[303] "Plus…curabant de communi bono quam de proprio." See Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art," 194.

[304] An early ascription of an interest in portraiture on the part of Taddeo was made by Vasari, who claimed that "uno de'Lanfranchi Operaio del Duomo fu chiamato a Pisa, dove trasferitosi fece nella capella della Nunziata, a fresco, quando la Madonna saglie i gradi del tempio, dove in capo il sacerdote ritrasse il detto Operaio et appresso a quello se stesso." See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite De' Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori,* Vol. 2, 310.

[305] See, for example, Sibilla Symeonides, *Taddeo di Bartolo*. Siena: Accademia senese degli intronati, 1965, 90, John Wyndham Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979; 1966, 4, Henk van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215-1460: Form, Content, Function*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1988, vol. 2, 149-50, Emo Barcucci, *Il Trittico Dell'Assunta Nella Cattedrale Di Montepulciano: Pala d'Altare Di Taddeo Di Bartolo*. Montepulciano: Del Grifo, 1991, 14, Norman, *Siena and the Virgin,* 195, and Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000, 215.

> are accompanied by an agglomeration of furrows at the root of the nose, the clearly shaped upper and lower eyelids and lateral crow's feet, the full and short hair with its bouncy structure suggesting leonine qualities, all of these features contribute convincingly to the impression that this is indeed a portrait of not just any but a very particular human being. As such, the image lends itself to a process of viewer identification.[306]

For Kohl it was not that the San Rossore bust depicts the physiognomic features of an actual individual; rather the artist applied facial details as attributes capable of evoking the effects produced in a portrait of a particular person.

The pictorial mode Taddeo di Bartolo used for the figure of *Judas Thaddeus* included some of the same individualizing facial features. Adopting a three-quarter pose, Judas is shown with a slightly aquiline nose with wrinkled creases between the eyebrows, clearly defined upper and lower eyelids with bushy eyebrows and crow's feet, stubbly whiskers on the cheeks and dimpled chin, and well-defined lips. In addition, this is the only figure from the group of apostles to stare out at the beholder with a deeply piercing gaze.[307] As a result the figure is imbued with more differentiated features and expression than the other apostles gathered around the empty tomb (Fig. 98).

Taddeo would periodically use some of these same pictorial elements throughout the remainder of his career. Increased attention to facial physiognomy appears again in a *pavise* he painted ca. 1405 that depicts the Volterrese *beato Buonamici*, a Franciscan tertiary (Fig. 99).[308]

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[306] Jeanette Kohl, "No one in particular. Donatello's San Rossore," in Mona Körte, Stefan Weppelman et all eds., *Inventing Faces: Rhetorics of Portraiture between Renaissance and Modernism*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2013, 19.

[307] In addition, Judas Thaddeus has a rhetorical hand gesture that suggests an enumeration of arguments as well as a sense of hailing, or direct address, to the beholder. Francis Ames-Lewis thought that this gesture signaled the importance of the hand of the painter as creator. See Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist*, 215.

[308] The *pavise* is located in the Museo Bardini, Florence and was painted not long after the *beato's* death in 1405. The figure points to an inscription that reads "[C]om[e con]sorto delle mie radici i' porto el c[apo d]i noi Buonamici." For more on the painting see Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1920, 227.

In this image the painter meticulously rendered features such as wrinkles around the eyes and on the forehead, grey eyebrows and hair, excess folds of skin around the chin, and creases on the cheeks (Fig. 100). Gianluca Amato argued that the "severe naturalism" (*naturalezza greve*) employed in this image lent the figure a sullen expression and solemn air.[309] Comparable descriptive elements were again utilized by Taddeo for the facial features of the Fathers of the Church in lunettes of the Cappella de'Signoria, leading Gail Solberg to go so far as to suggest that they may have been portraits of contemporary Sienese governors (Figs. 101, 102).[310] Fabio Chigi expressed similar sentiments in 1625 – 26 when he claimed that the visage of Taddeo's enormous figure of St. Christopher on the counter-facade of the antechapel entrance was a portrait of a long forgotten Capitano del Popolo.[311]

Taddeo's use of increased descriptive detail in some of these paintings suggests an attempt to utilize the face as a means to connect with the beholder, that is, to make his images "adhere."[312] This would be at least one way to describe the peculiar effect produced by the differentiation of *Judas Thaddeus* from the surrounding Apostles in the Montepulciano *Assumption*. The painter utilized some of the same pictorial elements in the *uomini famosi* where slight three-quarter poses, differentiated facial features, and penetrating gazes are also employed. It is not that Taddeo's famous men resemble anyone in particular; rather the painter's use of

[309] Gianluca Amato, "Taddeo di Bartolo," in Max Seidel ed. *Le Arti a Siena nel Primo Rinascimento: Da Jacopo Della Quercia a Donatello*. Milano: F. Motta, 2010, 418.
[310] Solberg, "The Style of the Years 1399 - 1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 203.
[311] P. Bacci, "L'elenco delle pitture. sculture e architetture di Siena compilato nel 1625-26 da Mons. Fabio Chigi poi Alessandro VII secondo il ms Chiqiano I.i.II." *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 4 (1939), 311, as cited in Solberg, "The Style of the Years 1399 - 1410," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 203, n.123.
[312] Jeanette Kohl has discussed the ability of the human face to produce an effect of "mnemonic adherence." See Jeanette Kohl, "Casting Renaissance Florence. The Bust of Giovanni de' Medici and Indexical Portraiture," in Peta Motture, Emma Jones, and Dimitrios Zikos eds., *Carvings, Casts & Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture*. London: Victoria & Albert, 2013, 60.

facial details heightened the impression that these were images of distinct individuals. The fact that Taddeo modulated the level of descriptive detail in the same project, for example the shift from the relatively idealized facial features of the pagan gods under the arch separating the antechapel from the Sala del Consiglio to the more particularized features of the *uomini famosi*, suggests that the painter was developing an "aesthetic of resemblance" for use in certain situations.

At least one reason for using an increased level of detail for the facial features of the *uomini famosi* would be to bolster the process of viewer identification with the images. Here Daniel Arasse's interpretation of the *Worthies* in the Sala Baronale at the Castello della Manta is complementary to the present investigation (Fig. 62). Arasse had seen in the procession of the *Worthies* a "galerie dynastique" that functioned as an idealized genealogical tree for the ruling family of Manta.[313] For Arasse, the *Worthies* at Manta functioned as a series of "portrait-effects" representing Valerano and his ancestors in the guise of famous individuals from the past.[314] Anne Dunlop recently expanded upon this interpretation by arguing that the *Worthies* functioned as "mirrors" of the room's occupants, encouraging a process of identification that allowed the court to "join the fiction" of the paintings.[315]

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[313] Arasse, "Portrait, mémoire familiale et liturgie dynastique: Valerano-Hector au château de Manta," 96.
[314] "La tradition en déduit que les huit autres Preux constituent autant d'allusions aux ancêtres de Valerano, non pas leurs portraits, mai bien leurs figures, depuis le père de Valerano, Tommaso III "sous les traits" d'Alexandre le Grand, jusqu'au lointain Manfredo I, "sous les traits" de Godefroy de Buillon." As evidence for this argument Arasse noted that the figure of Hector that initiates the series of heroes is wearing blue clothing inscribed with the word "Leit," the motto of the patron Valerano of Saluzzo. The last figure, that of the queen of the Amazons Penthesilea, also wears blue vestments stamped with the same motto. See Arasse, "Portrait, mémoire familiale et liturgie dynastique: Valerano-Hector au château de Manta," 93 – 95. Already by the sixteenth century there was a family tradition that claimed Hector was a portrait of Valerano while Penthesilea was a likeness of his spouse Clemenza di Provana. See Arasse, "Portrait, mémoire familiale et liturgie dynastique: Valerano-Hector au château de Manta," 95, citing P. d'Ancona, "Gli affreschi del castello di Manta nel Saluzzese," in *L'Arte* 8 (1905), 195.
[315] Dunlop notes that the frescoes once contained patches of metal foil to suggest armor and other ornaments that functioned as "little mirrors" which would partially reflect the real occupants of the room. See Dunlop, "A Certain Inborn Suffering: Chambers of Love," 152.

In the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico a similar process of identification was encouraged between the governors of Siena residing in the palace and the *uomini famosi* painted on its walls. For the inscription dividing the two groups of famous Romans explicitly invites the beholder to "mirror themselves" (*spechiatevi*) in those standing before them. One needs to remember that references to mirrors (*specula*) were frequent in medieval texts, both theological and literary, and the use of the reflexive verb *specchiarsi* in this inscription is charged with significance.[316] Recall, too, that the *titulus* associated with *Caesar* and *Pompey* implored the citizenry to "Look (*spectate*) at these men and infuse (*infigite*) your souls with them." *Infigite*, an archaic spelling of the imperative declension of the Latin transitive verb *inficio,* may be translated as to dye, steep, imbue, or infuse one's self, and in the context of late medieval theories of vision its usage here is also highly compelling.[317] The use of this verb suggests a type of engagement that went beyond passive viewing. The beholder was being instructed to look at the Roman heroes and allow their souls to be "steeped" in the images, resulting in a veritable "multiplication of species."[318] Thus it was hoped that the reflective and inculcating potential of the frescoes would allow the beholder to absorb the ancient exemplars into their very being, and in so doing establish a bond that linked the beholding subject with the virtues embodied by the painted figures.

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[316] On the long history of the mirror in medieval thought and art see Herbert L. Kessler, "Speculum." *Speculum* 86.1 (2011): 1 – 41.

[317] "ĭnficiō" in *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary.* James Morwood ed. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 511.

[318] Under the late medieval theories of vision proposed by Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon and John Peckham the term 'multiplication of species' referred to a process whereby images/species generated by matter strike the eye and follow the optic nerve to be replicated in the mind. It is important to note that species were not material replicas of objects propelled through space, but "likenesses" produced in the mind by the object seen. See David C. Lindberg, "Alhazen's Theory of Vision and Its Reception in the West." *Isis* 58.3 (Autumn, 1967), 336 – 337.

The truth revealing flesh of Scipio Africanus

This mirroring power of the *uomini famosi*, under which the Sienese governors were meant to be shaped in the form of heroes of the Roman Republic, was reinforced by some of the Palazzo Pubblico's furnishings. On 30 March 1424, the *Concistoro* commissioned a wooden *residenza* designated for use by the ten *signori priori.* Conceived as part of the ongoing renovations to the Palazzo Pubblico the bench was to be placed beneath Simone Martini's prestigious *Maestà* fresco in the Sala del Consiglio.[319] The backrest was decorated with intarsiated panels that depicted a cycle of *uomini famosi* from the Roman Republic. Payments for work on the *residenza* were made in March and December of 1426 to the woodworker Mattia di Nanni, also known as il Bernacchino.[320] An eighteenth-century account describes the existence of a now lost Latin inscription on the structure's entablature that placed obedience to the commune front and center: "Two things above all prevent discord and foster harmony; knowing both how to govern and how to obey."[321] The bench was removed in 1809 and dismembered, but in the middle of the nineteenth century Gaetano Milanesi tracked down five of the panels from the backrest along with an inscription that read 'OPUS. MATHIAE. SENENSIS IOHANNIS. F.

[319] This commission was intended to **"***honorem comunis*." An excerpt from these deliberations may be found in Keith Christiansen, "Mattia di Nanni's Intarsia Bench for the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena." *The Burlington Magazine* 139.1131 (1997), 386.

[320] Gaetano Milanesi transcribed a number of archival documents relating to the brief life of Mattia di Nanni detto il Bernacchino (1403 – 1433), a student of Domenico di Niccolò. A *necrologio* for the church of San Domenico in Siena described Bernacchino as "the best master of wood" and notes that he was buried on 1 August 1433 "near the entrance to the refectory" (optimus et peritus magister lignaminis sepultus est die prima Augusti prope introitum refectorii. Heu nec artificum manus valet resistere morti!). See Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti Per La Storia Dell'Arte Senese*. Siena, Italy: O. Porri, 1854, vol. II, 240.

[321] "DUE RES A(NTE) O(MNIA) EXCLUDUNT SEDITIONES, ET FUENTUR CONCORDIAM, SI PARITER IPSI ET IMPERARE, ET PARERE SCIANT." See G.A. Pecci, *Raccolta Universale di tutte le Iscrizioni. Arme e altri Monumenti, sia antichi come moderni, esistenti nel terzo di S. Martino fino a questo presente anno 1730,* Siena, Archivio di Stato, MS D5, fol. 194v., as cited in Christiansen, "Mattia di Nanni's Intarsia Bench," 375.

MCCCCXXX.[322] The same five panels were lent by a private collector to the exhibition of Sienese art held in the Palazzo Pubblico in 1904 and the catalogue identified the figures through their associated inscriptions as Quintus Curtius, Publius Horatius Cocles, Marcus Cato Uticensis, Manlius Curius Dentatus, and Pompeius Magnus.[323] The panels depicting Curtius, Dentatus and Pompey are now found in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montréal (Fig. 103).

Another panel currently located in the Metropolitan Museum in New York was not among the five recorded in the 1904 exhibition (Fig. 104). Depicting *Scipio Africanus*, Keith Christiansen has identified this image as one of the missing panels based on stylistic grounds and its dimensions.[324] *Scipio Africanus* represents one of the more intriguing images that survive from Bernacchino's bench. Seated upon a foreshortened bench the figure wears a wide brimmed helmet similar to that worn by *M. Curius Dentatus* in Taddeo di Bartolo's earlier fresco cycle. Bernacchino incorporated the non-wood materials of metal strips for the brim of the helmet, as well as bone for the whites of Scipio's eyes, the highlight on the nose, and his exposed teeth.[325] The drapery has been thrown open to reveal an emaciated torso with the sternum made clearly visible by the use of thinly arched strips of darker colored wood. The figure appears almost flayed, the masterful interweaving of meticulously tapered shavings of different types of wood mimicking the striations of muscle fibers. The artist even went so far as to imitate the contrasting directional flow of the actual grain of a human body's musculature with the slivers that make up

[322] Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. II, 240.
[323] Christiansen, "Mattia di Nanni's Intarsia Bench," 376.
[324] Christiansen, "Mattia di Nanni's Intarsia Bench," 380. Four of the known figures from the bench had also appeared in Taddeo's fresco cycle. These are Scipio Africanus, Pompey, Marcus Cato Uticensis, and M. Curius Dentatus. The two figures from the bench that had not been included amongst Taddeo's famous men were Marcus Curtius and Publius Horatius Cocles.
[325] For a technical analysis of the panel, including a discussion of the materials employed by Mattia di Nanni, see Antoine Wilmering, "Domenico Di Niccolò, Mattia Di Nanni and the Development of Sienese Intarsia Techniques." *The Burlington Magazine* 139.1131 (1997), 393-394.

the pectoral muscles running horizontally while the grain of the abdominals takes on a more vertical orientation. The execution of Scipio's neck is similarly suggestive of exposed muscle, ligaments, and tendons. This interest in displaying the anatomy of the figure suggests Bernacchino may have been familiar with late medieval anatomical treatises such as the *Anathomia Corporis Humani*, composed in the early fourteenth century by Mondino de' Liuzzi. It also anticipates the illustrations of human anatomy made by sixteenth-century artists such as Jacopo Berengario da Carpi (Fig. 105).[326] These features, combined with the way the drapery is loosely slung over *Scipio's* frame, are elements perhaps more often associated with representations of St. Bartholomew than a Roman hero. As a result the figure takes on a martyr-like dimension.

Scipio raises his right hand in a defiant rhetorical gesture while pointing towards his chest with his left hand. His open mouth suggests that he is in the midst of a speech, further creating a sense of insistent address directed at the beholder. These gestures refer to a particular iconography derived from biographies of the Roman hero. As told by Livy, charges of treason and the acceptance of bribes had been brought against Scipio Africanus near the end of his life. In response to the accusations Scipio delivered an impassioned speech before the senate in which he detailed his lengthy record of self-sacrifice in service to the state.[327]

In the fourteenth century Petrarch claimed that Scipio's passionate defense of a career devoted to the common good represented a triumph that surpassed the Roman hero's military

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[326] Jacopo Berengario da Carpi's anatomical treatise published in the early 1520s in Bologna was heavily indebted to Mondino de' Liuzzi's fourteenth-century *Anathomia Corporis Humani*. See Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, *Isagogae breues, perlucidae ac uberrimae, in anatomiam humani corporis a communi medicorum academia usitatam*. Bologna: Beneditcus Hector, 1523. For more on the relationship between the work of Mondino and Berengario see Carlo Pedretti ed., *L'Anatomia di Leonardo da Vinci fra Mondino e Berengario*. Florence: Cartei & Becagli Editori, 2005.
[327] Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, XXXVIII, 50-51.

victories.[328] During the fifteenth century Scipio Africanus was portrayed as a model of public masculinity by defenders of republican politics and a similar interpretation of the trial appeared in the previously mentioned 1435 letter of Poggio Bracciolini.[329] The episode was often imaged by having the hero display his battle scars to members of the senate as visible evidence of sacrifices made in the name of the Republic. The *Trial of Scipio* appears in a manuscript illuminated by Leonardo da Besozzo around 1436-42 which shows the Roman hero standing in front of a bench of seated senators pulling back his cloak to reveal his nude body while pointing towards his chest (Fig. 106). A late fifteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Reale at Turin repeats the formula and here it is possible to see distinct wounds on Scipio's torso and forearm (Fig. 107). While no wound is clearly visible on Bernacchino's panel today this does not necessarily mean that one did not exist at some point in the past. Technical analysis performed on a panel representing an allegorical figure of *Justice* attributed to the same artist has revealed residue of colored glazes and similar glazes could have easily been employed for representing a wound on the Scipio panel.[330] Yet the hand gestures of Bernacchino's figure and the revelation of a nude torso alone suffice to evoke the episode of the trial.[331]

[328] See Silvia Tomasi Velli, "Scipio's Wounds." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995), 221-222. Petrarch had interpreted this event as an example of how virtuous individuals that attain recognition and glory often fall victim to envy. For more on Petrarch's interpretation of the trial episode see Petrarch, *Vita di Scipione l'Africano*, G. Martellotti ed. Milano: Ricciardi, 1954 and Petrarch, *De viris illustribus*. G. Martellotti ed. Firenze: Sansoni, 1964.
[329] G. Crevatin, "La politica e la retorica," 296 – 7, 320.
[330] Wilmering, "Domenico Di Niccolò, Mattia di Nanni and the Development of Sienese Intarsia Techniques," 394.
[331] Roberto Guerrini had similarly suggested that this panel referred to the episode of Scipio's trial. See Roberto Guerrini, "Mattia di Nanni detto il Bernacchino, Quattro Pannelli con Uomini Illustri della Storia Repubblicana di Roma," in Santi and Strinati eds. *Siena & Roma*, 216.

Bernacchino's portrayal of an attenuated anatomy has been described in the past as an "expressionistic image of Scipio Africanus, a victim of the ingratitude of his homeland."[332] Yet in the context of fifteenth-century Siena the emphasis placed upon a wasted anatomy may also reflect novel approaches in establishing juridical evidence. Beginning in the fourteenth and continuing into the fifteenth century legal tracts increasingly focused upon visible corporeal signs as a means of establishing truth. Valentin Groebner has described the truth-telling nature of exposed skin:

> The human epidermis can be understood as a document, record or archive…its scarring and blemishes represent, as *signa rememorativa*…a surface that has been written on irrevocably, where all is exteriorized and made fully visible…reading the skin—and writing on it—was an acknowledged technique for establishing the truth.[333]

In Siena, distinguishing marks on the body were sometimes used to identify property owners. Deposit books (*libri di diposti*) kept at the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala from 1382 to 1446 contain names of pilgrims who on their way to Rome deposited their valuables in Siena rather than carry them onwards. The depositors were registered by name, origin, height, and distinguishing marks including birthmarks, scars, and other skin anomalies so that upon their return they could collect their goods.[334]

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[332] "Un'immagine espressionistica di Scipione Africano vittima dell'ingratitudine della patria." See Marilena Caciorgna and Roberto Guerrini, "Immagini del 'Buon Governo': Percorsi in Palazzo Pubblico, a Siena e fuori Siena," in Marilena Caciorgna and Roberto Guerrini eds. *Alma Sena: Percorsi Iconografici Nell'Arte e Nella Cultura Senese: Assunta, Buon Governo, Credo, Virtù e Fortuna, Biografia Dipinta*. Siena: Monte dei Paschi di Siena; Firenze, 2007, 151.

[333] Valentin Groebner, *Who are you? Identification, deception, and surveillance in early modern Europe.* New York: Zone Books, 2007, 97. Pastoral enterprises also came to embrace some of the 'truth-telling' aspects of the body's surfaces. A number of fifteenth-century compilations of pastoral treatises contain physiognomic texts that provided a priest with a system for reading the sinful nature of an individual through the body's surfaces. See Joseph Ziegler, "Text and Context: On the Rise of Physiognomic Thought in the Later Middle Ages," in Yitzhak Hen ed. *De Sion Exibit Lex Et Verbum Domini De Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001, 173, footnote 41.

[334] Groebner, *Who are you?,* 111.

In such a context the manner in which Bernacchino's figure has thrown open his drapery to reveal an emaciated body takes on new significance. Visual evidence of Scipio's famous continence was inscribed upon his body in the form of its wasted, suffering flesh.[335] Instead of an "expressionistic image" the purposeful display of a torso in which the epidermis has been reduced almost to the level of non-existence, revealing the muscular-skeletal structures beneath, may be understood as a display of truth. That is to say, the Roman hero's virtuous acts of self-sacrifice in the name of the state were literally manifested in the body's lean forms. The figure's cadaverous features provided visible evidence of the moral character of Scipio Africanus as developed through military training; flesh itself was something that was subdued and made docile through practices of self-discipline.

In a recent study Cristelle L. Baskins analyzed the different ways that public and private images of Scipio Africanus expressed a range of masculinities to fifteenth-century Tuscan audiences. For Baskins, representations of Scipio encouraged male individuals to comply with social norms and expectations.[336] Such a function helps account for the striking manner in which Bernacchino's panel completely disrupted the standard subject position of the beholder as seen in traditional representations of the Trial of Scipio. Whereas the manuscript images all show the figure of Scipio revealing a wound to a bench full of seated senators, at the Palazzo Pubblico the beholder was now placed in the position of being scrutinized by the image of *Scipio* staring directly outward from the judiciary bench itself. Rather than placing the ancient Roman on trial, the piercing gaze of Bernacchino's figure instead puts the priors approaching the *residenza* in a situation of being judged. This shift in perspective also helps account for the remarkable change

[335] Jill Burke has demonstrated that displays of male nakedness were associated with abstinence from worldly vices. See Burke, "Nakedness in Renaissance Italy," in *The Italian Renaissance Nude,* 44.
[336] Cristelle L. Baskins, "(In)Famous Men: The Continence of Scipio and Formations of Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Domestic Painting." *Studies in Iconography* 23 (2002), 119 – 120.

in medium that occurs around the figure's face where the artist incorporated metal strips on the helmet and bone for the whites of the eyes, the highlight on the nose, and the exposed teeth. These elements call attention to the face as distinct from the surrounding darker colored wooden intarsia, drawing the eye towards the figure's face and in particular towards its glowing eyes.

The reduction of subcutaneous fat deposits and the display of wasted torsos, the haggard visages of self-denying, obedient statesmen—all embodied discipline in their outward visible forms. These aspects do not merely symbolize the virtue of self-sacrifice in the name of the common good. There was also an affective component to these images which operated in the exchange between work of art and the body of the beholder. This exchange was enhanced not only by the outward directed gaze of figures but also by the creation of architectural space and the deployment of furnishings. Previous accounts of Bernacchino's intarsia panels for the backrest of the *residenza* have neglected the connections between their iconography and the *signori priori* who would have sat upon the bench. Yet providing a support for the activities of the priors was a key element to the bench's function, and it was the ceremonial and ritual performances of the governors that would have activated the iconography of the *residenza*.[337] The bodies of the ten priors mirrored those of Bernacchino's ten Roman statesmen that decorated its backrest. Taking their seats upon the bench the magistrates would have been subsumed into the positions previously occupied by these heroes of the Roman Republic. The imagery of the bench therefore performed a legitimizing function as the ten *signori priori* were closely associated with these civic exemplars. Even more significant, however, was the way that the

[337] A similar argument has recently been made regarding the "activation" of iconographical elements in decorated choir stalls in ecclesiastical architecture by the performance of the liturgy. See Erika Loic, "Liturgical Activation of the Stone Choir in Santiago de Compostela: Looking at Material through the Immaterial," in Anja Seliger and Willy Piron eds. *Choir Stalls and their Workshops: Proceedings of the Misericordia International Colloquium 2016*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, 129.

architectonic form of the *residenza* manifested the desire for approximation between the Sienese and Roman Republics as each prior assumed the place of and "became" a hero of the Republic.

Scopic form in the streets of Siena

> The presence of an elegant portico, under which the elders may stroll or sit, take a nap or negotiate business, will be an undoubted ornament to both crossroad and forum. Furthermore, the presence of the elders will restrain the youth, as they play and sport in the open, and curb any misbehavior or buffoonery resulting from the immaturity of their years.
>
> ~ Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, 1443 – 1452, (VIII, 6)[338]

During the urban renewal of fifteenth-century Siena art and architecture were combined to produce spaces in which the awareness of one's visibility was heightened. This redevelopment program was eventually extended to the mercantile domain as the regime sought to enhance its centralization of power by involving itself more publicly in the commercial life of the city. The targeted expropriation of the building that housed the institution of the Mercanzia was one of the most prominent examples of this policy. The Mercanzia was concerned primarily with matters relating to commerce and its central function was the provision of a court in which magistrates would make rulings on conflicts between business owners and employees as well as the settling of trade contract disputes.[339] The institution had originally been the creation of the guilds of international trade and in the fourteenth century it had almost complete autonomy to serve as the organization that represented the political as well as the economic interests of the city's powerful

[338] "…si aderit elegans porticus, sub qua patres "deambulantes" considentesve aut meridient aut mutua inter se officia praestolentur. Adde quod ludibundam et certantem spatiis laxioribus iuventutem patrum praesentia ob omni lascivientis aetatis improbitate et scurrilitate deterrebit." Leon Battista Alberti, "Libro Ottavo, Capitolo VI," in *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*. Renato Bonelli and Paolo Portoghesi eds., Giovanni Orlandi trans. Milano: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1966, vol. 1, 713 – 715. The English translation is from Yvonne Elet, "Seats of Power: The Outdoor Benches of Early Modern Florence." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61.4 (2002), 450.

[339] David Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune: Loggias and the Mercanzie of Bologna and Siena." *Renaissance Studies* 12.3 (1998), 325-326. For more on the history of the Sienese Mercanzia court see Monica Chiantini, *La Mercanzia di Siena nel Rinascimento: la normative dei secoli 14.-16.* Siena: Cantagalli, 1996.

merchant families.[340] During this period Mercanzia officers were part of the inner circle of government councils and participated in the selection of priors and councilors for the communal government housed in the Palazzo Pubblico.[341]

The construction of the original building housing the Mercanzia court was initiated in 1309. Significantly, it was situated directly opposite the Palazzo Pubblico on the Piazza del Campo (Fig. 108). On the ground floor was a row of shops while above was an upper hall facing the piazza. A chapel dedicated to St. Paul also formed part of the palace complex. A document in the archive of the Opera del Duomo dating to 15 September 1408 reveals the communal government at that time transferring control of the chapel away from the Mercanzia and to the Opera. At this time the commune became the patron of the church. The records explicitly refer to this as a unifying act of incorporation: "Unio, annexio et incorporatio facta de ecclesia Sancti Pauli senensis maiori senensi ecclesie auctoriate ecclesiastica."[342]

The transfer of the sanctuary of San Paolo to the Opera del Duomo was clearly an act of political annexation and formed part of the strategy of centralization on the part of the communal government. This process relied upon the appropriation of formerly independent institutions as a means of asserting ever-greater control over the city's affairs. The hospital of Santa Maria della Scala represents another key example of this policy. During the fourteenth century it had grown to become the richest institution in the city with massive land holdings in the *contado* and a network of smaller hospitals throughout Sienese territory.[343] Originally a group of tertiary

[340] Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 326.
[341] According to statutes dating to 1342 four consuls headed the institution. These were advised by twelve councilors drawn from the guilds. See Sabine Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987, 15.
[342] Archivio del Opera del Duomo, 19, cc. 82r-83r, as cited in Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 221-223.
[343] Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 46.

Augustinian *frati* answerable to the canons of the cathedral ran the hospital but as the wealth of the institution grew it increasingly caught the attention of the communal government. Shortly after 1404 the new republican government gave notice that from thenceforward the hospital's rector would be elected in city councils thereby making the rectorship a city office.[344] A fiscal crisis at the hospital in the 1420s provided the context for a complete takeover. In 1428 the commune nominated a governing board to review the institution's finances and in 1433 an ordinance was issued consolidating the central government's control of the hospital's affairs.[345]

The situation at the Mercanzia during these years was very much the same. Fabrizio Nevola, Judith Hook, and Sabine Hansen have all argued that the fifteenth-century renovations to the Mercanzia palace were launched in order to foster trade.[346] Yet the beginning of the century had witnessed a purposeful shift away from international trade as the majority of Siena's leading families began to derive their wealth almost exclusively from landed property and livestock.[347] According to Giuliano Pinto:

> The mercantile mentality and the world of business (*negotia*) seemed, from at least 1400, largely alien to the prevalent culture among the upper strata of Sienese society. Such activities became dishonorable for gentlemen, for whom living off the profits of the land or of public office was more appropriate.[348]

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[344] Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 46.
[345] A transcript of the 1433 ordinance is in Luciano Banchi ed., "Statuto dello Spedale di Siena," in *Statuti senesi scritti in volgare ne'secoli XIII e XIV.* Bologna, 1877, 233 – 234.
[346] Judith Hook, *Siena: A City and its History*, 164, Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 17; and Fabrizio Nevola, "Revival or Renewal: Defining Civic Identity in Fifteenth-Century Siena," in Marc Boone and Peter Stabel eds., *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe.* Leuven-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000, 125.
[347] Giuliano Pinto has noted that the tax returns of the wealthiest families in Siena from this period consist of "farms and houses, rarely of warehouses," and that "only a small group of families – a few dozen – were engaged in banking or in trade (in wool, silk, linen, leather), but their investments were modest (rarely exceeding 1,000 florins) and were accompanied by large investments in land." See Giuliano Pinto, "'Honour' and 'Profit': Landed Property and Trade in Medieval Siena," in Trevor Dean and Chris Wickham eds., *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Essays Presented to Philip Jones*. London; Ronceverte, WV, U.S.A.: Hambledon Press, 1990, 82. For more on Siena's restricted local economy in the fifteenth century see David Hicks, "Sources of Wealth in Renaissance Siena: Businessmen and Landowners," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 93 (1986): 9 – 42.
[348] Pinto, "'Honour' and 'Profit,'" 88-89.

A return to the land of the Sienese *contado* and consequently away from international trade was entirely in keeping with the focus of the republican regime upon internal affairs at the expense of foreign engagement. The idea that the communal government's interests in the Mercanzia arose purely out of a concern for rejuvenating stagnant trade appears oversimplified at best. Moreover, documentary evidence suggests that tensions had been brewing between the institution and civic officials over a perceived over-extension of authority on the part of the central government. In 1422 the commune was justifying its involvement in Mercanzia affairs complaining that, "the Sienese guilds do nothing and are reduced to a miserable state."[349] This was followed by threats made by the government in 1433 to repeal the monopoly of the Mercanzia's court and allow commercial cases to be heard at the courts of the *podestà* and *capitano* in the Palazzo Pubblico instead. In response a lengthy plea by officers representing the Mercanzia was made to the *Concistoro* on 17 June 1433. In this communiqué the representatives protested the costs involved in maintaining bureaucratic officials such as lawyers and prosecutors at the communal courts arguing that the Mercanzia was a more efficient institution for resolving cases relating to commerce.[350] The frustration of the officials is palpable as the *Concistoro* was told "you should just lock the door of our house if you cannot find an alternative solution."[351] Such protests appear to have fallen upon deaf ears. Whereas during the fourteenth century the consuls of the Mercanzia selected priors and councilors to head the Sienese state, by the fifteenth century this

[349] Sandra Tortoli, "Per la storia della produzione laniera a Siena nel trecento e nei primi anni del Quattrocento," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, 82-3 (1975-6), 238, as cited in Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 331.
[350] See Document 117, from ASS, Concistoro 2120, as cited in Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 264.
[351] "è cagione che quella casa in breve tempo si puo serrare se per altro modo non si provede." Document 117, from ASS, Concistoro 2120, as cited in Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 264. Friedman also cited this document as evidence of the materially reduced and politically impotent state of the Mercanzia. See Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 331.

relationship was reversed and the central government instead chose the officers of the Mercanzia.[352]

In 1417 the regime decided to use communal funds to embark upon a renovation of the Mercanzia palace.[353] The construction focused upon the erection of a monumental loggia that would house the administrative and judicial branches of the institution (Fig. 109). The loggia was to be built upon the site of the older sanctuary dedicated to St. Paul that had acted as the Mercanzia's chapel. In justifying the demolition of San Paolo and the construction of the new loggia, the earlier church was portrayed as having been poorly run and in a dilapidated state.[354] By 1448 the construction of the monumental loggia was structurally complete. The new building inverted the previous orientation of the seat of the Mercanzia so that it now faced away from the Campo and the Palazzo Pubblico and towards the Croce del Travaglio, the most important intersection in Siena.[355] This was the location where the road leading to and from Florence and the north of Europe, the Strada Romana, met the Via di Città, a primary access route to the Duomo. It is also the only point in the city where all three *terzi* coincide.

Far from a simple renewal project meant to foster trade, then, the reorientation of the Mercanzia amounted to a form of "symbolic domination" of the Sienese cityscape on the part of the communal government.[356] As David Friedman has previously noted, the magnificence of the

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[352] Mario Ascheri, *Siena nel Rinascimento: istituzioni e sistema politico*. Siena: Il Leccio, 1985, 125 – 7, as cited in Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 331.
[353] Mario Ascheri, *Renaissance Siena (1355-1559)*. Siena: Nuova immagine, 1993, 10, 29.
[354] Archivio del Opera del Duomo, 19, cc. 82r-83r, as cited in Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 221-223.
[355] The shift in orientation away from the Palazzo Pubblico and toward the Croce del Travaglio had been noted by David Friedman. See Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 331.
[356] For Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg the distribution of the symbols of dominant powers throughout subordinate topographies acted as a "reminder of common cultural heritage, an instrument of identification and cohesion." See Enrico Castelnuovo and Carlo Ginzburg, "Symbolic Domination and Artistic Geography in Italian Art History." Maylis Curie trans. *Art in Translation* 1.1 (2009), 11.

new loggia achieves a radically different effect than that of the pre-existing Mercanzia palace. Whereas the statutes dealing with the construction of the first palace in 1309 demanded that the building adhere to conventional civic architecture by having the walls facing the streets be in red brick and that the windows possess "little columns" in the manner of the Palazzo Pubblico, the grandeur of the new loggia distinguished the structure from surrounding buildings.[357] For Friedman the construction of the loggia at a time when the power and independence of the institution of the Mercanzia was on the decline, as well as the monumentality of the structure, signaled the developing policies of centralization on the part of the Sienese state.[358] Like the *Fonte Gaia* before it, visual magnificence was used to celebrate the state itself rather than the institution of the Mercanzia.

Shortly after completion of the structural elements of the loggia an elaborate sculptural program was begun. The imagery of this program similarly emphasized the pre-eminence of the state through the inclusion of iconography that was specifically associated with the seat of the communal government in the Palazzo Pubblico. Two marble benches were commissioned for inside the loggia along with a series of freestanding sculptures set in shallow niches on the structure's façade. Urbano da Cortona completed the bench at the east end of the loggia in 1462, the backrest of which shows four female allegorical figures representing the virtues of *Fortitude, Prudence, Justice* and *Temperance* (Fig. 110).[359] Their ovoid heads and soft features were inspired by Jacopo della Quercia's *Virtues* from the nearby *Fonte Gaia* (Fig. 26). At the west end

[357] Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 328 and 338. The statutes in question may be found in *Il costituto del comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX – MCCCX* (Siena, 1903), I, distinctio II, rubric 409 and distinctio III, rubric 37.
[358] "In fact, it is the very weakness of these Mercanzie [those in Bologna and Siena] that makes the new monumentality possible." See Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 334.
[359] For more on Urbano da Cortona's bench, see Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 76-81.

was a bench carved by Antonio Federighi during the years 1463-65 that depicted five *uomini famosi* including *Cicero, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Junius Brutus, Furius Camillus,* and *Cato Uticensis* (Fig. 111).[360] On the reverse side of both benches, those portions facing onto the streets providing access to the Piazza del Campo, are *stemmi* and civic emblems that include the she-wolf (Figs. 112, 113).

Some elements of the benches recall aspects of the earlier Palazzo Pubblico decorative schemes by Taddeo di Bartolo and Bernacchino. Federighi's isolation of monumental seated *uomini famosi* evokes the intarsia figures from Bernacchino's *residenza* for the Sala del Consiglio. Some of the sculptures also have their mouths open as if caught in the act of vocally addressing the beholder in a manner that recalls the earlier bench (Figs. 114, 115). While Federighi's figures are highly eroded, enough survives to suggest that the overall intention was to depict a group of severe individuals. *Cato Uticensis* possesses sunken cheeks whose projecting bones give him an emaciated visage while the furrowed brow and tightly clenched lips of *Lucius Junius Brutus* perfectly communicate stern stoicism (Fig. 116).

In his study of the architectural elements of the loggia, David Friedman briefly noted that references to the Mercanzia were limited to coats of arms on the rear of the benches while the rest of the sculptural elements included iconography associated with the commune.[361] For Friedman this only provided further evidence of the newly subordinate status of the Mercanzia: "By now the Mercanzia served ends defined by the state, and as a dependant of the regime its

[360] For more on Federighi's bench, see Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 81-93.
[361] See Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 335. Yet I would point out that even on the rear of the benches communal *stemmi* are one full display. The arms of the Mercanzia are a balanced scale and a shipping bundle and they appear only on the reverse side of the bench located at the east end of the loggia alongside civic *stemmi*, while the back side of the bench at the west end of the loggia only exhibits civic emblems.

grandeur reflected on the dignity of the commune."[362] The loggia celebrates not the institution with which it was associated, but the state itself. In Friedman's account, however, sculpture takes a subsidiary position to architectural concerns. The façade statues function largely as "decoration," while the benches "furnish" the loggia.[363]

Yet closer analysis of the sculptural elements provides further evidence of the expanding state capacity of the regime. The use of iconography associated with the central government established a form of contiguity between the Palazzo Pubblico and the Loggia della Mercanzia, in effect expanding the state's footprint beyond its traditional center of authority localized in the Piazza del Campo.[364] A key feature of the *uomini famosi* found on Federighi's bench distinguishes them from the earlier programs in the Palazzo Pubblico, however, and that is their overt celebration of violent acts in defense of republican ideals. This anti-tyrannical theme is evident in the figure of *Marcus Junius Brutus*, who had led the plot to assassinate Julius Caesar (Fig. 117). Whereas in the antechapel Marcus Junius Brutus was a marginal figure, relegated to a portrait medallion, here he was promoted to become a primary figure. On Federighi's bench he is shown brandishing a dagger in a menacing manner and directing his gaze towards his proclaimed ancestor, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, situated in the niche next to him. Lucius Junius Brutus is traditionally known as a leader of the uprising that overthrew the Roman monarchy. When his two sons took part in a conspiracy to restore the royal family, Brutus condemned them both to death. Federighi's image of *Lucius Junius Brutus* includes the decapitated heads of the sons at

[362] Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 338.
[363] Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 335.
[364] This strategy calls to mind Jaś Elsner's recent analysis of the ways that iconographic themes may be deployed to define space and link more than one site. In a study of the fifteenth century urban renewal of the town of Castiglione Olona in northern Italy, Elsner argued that a form of "iconographic interreferentiality" established connections between religious and scholarly spaces within the town with a college built by the same patron at the University of Pavia. See Elsner, "Image and Site," 156-73.

the figure's feet, providing visible evidence of the stoic defense of the Republic at the expense of one's own family (Fig. 118). Such themes also characterize the aged figure of *Cato Uticensis*, who is shown in the act of stabbing himself in the chest (the blade of the dagger is now missing) as a reference to his choice of suicide rather than living under Caesar's dictatorship (Fig. 119).

The violent content of Federighi's bench indicates the precarious position of the governing regime at the time of its commissioning. A political crisis had been triggered by a failed coup attempt in May of 1456 led by Antonio Petrucci, a prominent member of the *monte* of the *Nove*. Petrucci sought a more limited oligarchy that would exclude the *Riformatori* and *Popolari*.[365] Cristofano Gabrielli, the Capitano del Popolo, survived an attempt on his life and thwarted the coup. Several of the conspirators were executed. Others were exiled, including the Petrucci clan. The survival of the regime would once again be threatened in 1458, this time by the election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini as Pope Pius II in August of that year. Almost immediately upon his accession to the papal throne, Pius began to pressure the Sienese government to readmit the *monte* of the *Gentiluomini* to the *reggimento popolare*. The nobles had been excluded from holding office since the formation of the coalitional government in the early years of the fifteenth century and their readmission threatened to upset the relative stability established by the "undivided Trinity" of the *Nove*, *Riformatori*, and *Popolari*.[366] Initially the government attempted to satisfy the pope's demands by allowing only members of his family,

[365] For more on the coup see Pertici, *Tra Politica e Cultura nel Primo Quattrocento Senese*, 13 – 15; Petra Pertici, "Una "Coniuratio" del Reggimento di Siena nel 1450." *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 99 (1992): 1 – 39; Ascheri and Pertici, "La Situazione Politica Senese del Secondo Quattrocento (1456 – 1479)," 995 – 1012; and Luke Syson, "The Art of the State," in Syson, *Renaissance Siena*, 82.
[366] In October of 1458 it was proclaimed that it would be impossible to balance the proud nature of the nobility with the "mediocrity" of the popular government: "parificare la elatione deli nobili et la mediocrita et equalità populare sarebbe inpossibile come derogare a lege di natura." ASS, Concistoro 2416, f. 55v, as cited in Christine Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," in *Popular Government and Oligarchy in Renaissance Italy,* 44.

the Piccolomini, to serve in the regime.[367] Pius was relentless, however, and the negotiations with the popular government to allow for the return of the remaining nobles were tense. During the early months of 1459 one witnesses many back and forth accusations. The Concistoro warned that "For a long time, over fifty years, our *reggimento* has been kept in liberty and good order (*optimo stato*) by the form the government takes at present…nor can it be altered by any aggregation without sedition, discord and grave danger."[368] To this Pius countered with a complaint that for over fifty years "you have treated like slaves those noble citizens whose ancestors founded this city, and who spontaneously, not constrained by force, conferred the government on you."[369] Finally on 15 April 1459 the Sienese relented and agreed to make the nobility eligible to hold all offices.[370] This only had the effect of further encouraging the pope, however, who soon began to request that the *monte* of the *Dodici*, similarly excluded from government since 1403, also be readmitted.[371] On this issue the Sienese would not budge and as a result the relationship between Pius and the governing regime remained sour for the rest of his pontificate.[372] Within months of the death of the pope in August of 1464 the nobles were once again banned from holding government offices.[373]

The rhetoric of violence exhibited by Federighi's bench, which distinguishes it from earlier instances of the *uomini famosi* iconography in Siena, needs to be understood not only as

[367] This decision came down from the Balia maggiore on 4 September 1458. See ASS, Concistoro 552, f. 3v, as cited in Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 43.
[368] See ASS, Concistoro 1677, ff. 2v–3v, as cited in Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 45.
[369] Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *I Commentarii*, ed. Luigi Totaro, 2 vols. Milan, 1984, I, 319–25, as cited in Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 48.
[370] ASS, Concistoro 555, ff. 14v – 15v, as cited in Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 49.
[371] Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 51.
[372] Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 52.
[373] The decision to exclude the nobles was made by the Council of the People and took place on 19 December 1464, the vote being 271 to eight. See ASS, Concistoro 589, ff. 29r, 30v – 33r, as cited in Shaw, "Making the Nobles Unwelcome," 54.

marking the survival of the Republic following the 1456 coup attempt, but also in terms of negotiating the delicate diplomatic situation with Pius II. In this sense it may be seen as a visual apparatus intended to mitigate the tense circumstances surrounding the renewed ascendency of the *Gentiluomini* and *Dodici*. In doing so the bench participated in the long tradition of the ritualized enactments of violence exhibited by the Sienese whenever they were faced with perceived threats to the liberty of the Republic. One of the most prominent of these rituals was the ceremonial spoliation performances enacted by Siena as part of its reception of the Emperor Charles IV in 1355 and 1368. Upon the entrance of the imperial procession through the Porta Camollia a staged incident occurred wherein the gathered crowd of Sienese fell upon and tore up the silk fabrics of the processional banners and baldachins. Drawing upon the anthropological methodologies of Victor Turner and Max Gluckman, Gerrit Jasper Schenk argued that initially this rebellion ritual was attenuated with a cathartic effect, but in the long term it helped stabilize and reinforce existing dominance structures: "the ceremonial apparatus therefore mitigates a delicate situation…a ritualized element helping to render socially tolerable the ostentatious display of power by removing the symbols elevating the rulers above their subjects."[374] In a related argument, Jennifer Sliwka recently linked the systemic nature of the violence portrayed in Domenico Beccafumi's 1529 – 1535 ceiling frescoes in the Consistory of the Palazzo Pubblico to ritualized forms of violence enacted in the Piazza del Campo as part of the festivities for the visit of Charles V in 1536 (Fig. 120).[375] While "officially" the choreographed violence

[374] See Gerrit Jasper Schenk, "Enter the Emperor. Charles IV and Siena between Politics, Diplomacy and Ritual (1355 and 1368)." *Renaissance Studies* 20.2 (April 2006), 170 – 172. For more on rebellion rituals see V. W. Turner, *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*. New York, 1995; and M. Gluckman, *Order and Rebellion in tribal Africa. Collected Essays with an autobiographical introduction*. London, 1963.

[375] See Jennifer Sliwka, ""Armet se duritia": Domenico Beccafumi and the Politics of Punishment," in Timothy B. Smith and Judith Steinhof eds., *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*. Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012, 166.

celebrated the Emperor, on another level the works contained a more transgressive dimension that helped ease anxiety over his presence in the city. For Sliwka the violent content of Beccafumi's frescoes provided a means of "asserting Sienese identity, authority, and orthodoxy in the face of the growing threat of imperial domination."[376]

The heightened rhetoric of violence exhibited by Federighi's *uomini famosi* is an earlier instance of this practice. The sculptures function as a sort of ritualized pressure relief valve, in which an iconography associated specifically with the communal government provided a means to express anti-tyrannical sentiments at a time when the stability of the regime was very much under threat.

Feelings of anxiety also permeate the sculptural program for the loggia's façade. For this project Federighi was commissioned to sculpt the saints *Savino, Ansano* and *Vittore* during the years 1457 – 1461 (Figs. 121, 122, 123) while the artist Lorenzo di Pietro, also known as Il Vecchietta, carved the figures of *Peter* and *Paul* from 1458 – 1463 (Figs. 124, 125).[377] Once again primacy of the state is indicated by the fact that *Ansano, Savino,* and *Vittore* were patrons not of the Mercanzia but of the commune. The additional figures of saints *Peter* and *Paul* were selected primarily because the loggia was constructed on the site of the older sanctuary dedicated to St. Paul, which the commune had become patron of in 1408.[378] The original sculptures of *Peter* and *Vittore* were removed to the Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala in 2006

[376] Ibid.
[377] For more on Federighi's figures including a discussion of related documentation, see Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 58-64. For more on Vecchietta's sculptures, see Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, 70-72.
[378] Here it is important to note that in all early documentation the loggia was referred to as the Loggia di San Paolo. The name "Loggia della Mercanzia" is conventional, and refers to the site being the former seat of the institution. See Friedman, "Monumental Urban Form in the Late Medieval Italian Commune," 336.

during the conservation and cleaning of the Loggia and were replaced at that time by modern copies.[379]

The arrangement of figures on the façade evokes Taddeo di Bartolo's earlier images of fictive sculptures set in the recesses of a portico, only instead of ancient heroes we are presented with full-length freestanding sculptures of patron saints standing upon corbels. The use of sculpted saints for the façade of an important civic structure also recalls the arrangement at Orsanmichele in Florence. Unlike the situation at Orsanmichele, however, where individual guilds commissioned sculptures of their own patron saints for their respective niches, the Mercanzia program was entirely sponsored by the communal government.[380] The deeply carved niches at Orsanmichele are also quite different from those found on the Loggia della Mercanzia which possess almost no depth at all. Instead the sculptures are set upon corbels that project outwards almost entirely from the building's façade. As a result the figures were pushed into the space of the street, an effect that bolstered their interactivity with pedestrians.

All of the Loggia della Mercanzia façade sculptures are purposefully oriented towards the Strada Romana, their heads and postures turned to face the Croce del Travaglio (Fig. 126).[381] The modulation of sculptural form towards a beholder situated at the Croce helps account for the sharply turned head of the figure of *Vittore* in particular, a posture that appears quite odd when

[379] For an account of the removal of the two sculptures see Gianluca Amato, "Antonio Federighi," in Seidel ed. *Le Arti a Siena Nel Primo Rinascimento*, 338.
[380] From the very beginning the sculptural program was overseen by the operai in charge of the San Paolo renovation project. See Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. II, doc. 119, 157-158.
[381] The orientation of the sculptures towards the Croce del Travaglio has been briefly commented upon by authors in the past. See Diana Norman, "Siena and its Renaissance," in Carol M. Richardson ed., *Locating Renaissance Art.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007, 160 – 161; Nevola, "Revival or Renewal: Defining Civic Identity in Fifteenth-Century Siena," 126; and Nevola, "Surveillance and Control of the Street in Renaissance Italy," 87 – 88.

photographed or viewed from a frontal vantage point.[382] Seen from such an angle the tendons in *Vittore's* neck appear uncomfortably contorted (Fig. 127). The figure seems to lean awkwardly towards his right so that the right shoulder is projected much further towards the east than the right foot in a manner that suggests instability (Fig. 123). The sense of imbalance is further enhanced by the way the left foot has been extended towards the west and hangs slightly off the base. When seen from an oblique viewpoint situated at the Croce del Travaglio, however, the composition resolves (Fig. 128). *Vittore* gazes towards the intersection over his right shoulder with a furrowed brow, his square jaw suggestive of fortitude. Any sensation of instability dissipates and the body language now appears solid, unmoving, and confrontational. Federighi's figure of *Savino* also turns his body towards the intersection as he raises his right hand towards those arriving, the broken fingers lending the gesture a level of ambivalence: is he blessing the beholder or warding them off (Fig. 129)? Just as *Vittore* shifts his head to confront individuals approaching from the Strada, *Ansano* does the same (Fig. 130). Vecchietta's figures of *Peter* and *Paul* also orientate their bodies towards the Croce and cast their deeply carved pupils upon those entering the intersection (Figs. 131, 132).[383]

By adjusting sculptural form to take into account the position of a beholder Federighi and Vecchietta were participating in a tradition that had deep roots in Siena.[384] Between 1284-1300

[382] Rarely are these sculptures photographed from an oblique vantage point that would communicate their orientation towards the intersection. The photographs in Sabine Hansen's important study of the loggia, for instance, are almost always taken from a frontal vantage point. See Hansen, *Die Loggia Della Mercanzia in Siena*, Figs. 35-50.

[383] The striking, deeply carved irises and pupils lend these two figures powerful, piercing gazes that also recall Taddeo di Bartolo's *uomini famosi* fresco cycle.

[384] Christopher Lakey has recently demonstrated that the modulation of sculptural form towards the individuated place occupied by an embodied beholder was a widespread phenomenon in late medieval Italy. See Christopher Lakey, "From Place to Space: Raumkästen and the Moving Spectator in Medieval Italian Art," in Beate Fricke and Urte Krass eds. *The Public in the Picture: Involving the Beholder in Antique, Islamic, Byzantine and Western Medieval and Renaissance Art / Das Publikum Im Bild: Beiträge Aus Der Kunst Der Antike, Des Islam, Aus Byzanz Und Dem Westen*. Zürich: Diaphanes, 2015, 123-124.

Giovanni Pisano worked a series of optical refinements into the sculptures for the façade of the Sienese cathedral. The form of the bodies of a number of these figures deviates from standard anatomy, resulting in elongated and twisted necks. A modulation of normative physical form is especially evident in the figure known as *Miriam* or *Mary, Sister of Moses* whose contorted neck pulls the head of the figure outward from the body. When seen from a level vantage point in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, where the original sculpture is situated today, the neck seems grotesquely disproportionate to the figure's body (Fig. 133). From the position of a beholder standing in the piazza below, however, the proportions of the façade sculptures do not seem as distorted and the figures become legible (Fig. 134).[385] As noted by Robert Munman, the fact that Giovanni Pisano did not use such optical adjustments for figures placed lower on the façade suggests that these distortions were intentionally designed with the vantage point of a beholder in mind.[386] The artist that carved a figure of *Charity* in the early fourteenth century for the gallery located high up on the arch before the crossing inside the Sienese cathedral utilized a similar strategy.[387] Seen from the side at a level vantage point the neck of this figure once again appears oddly contorted (Fig. 135). But when seen from below by a beholder standing in the nave, the perspective resolves and *Charity* is seen directing her gaze towards the sculpture of *St.*

[385] For more on optical refinements in the Sienese works of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, see Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye,* 185-189.
[386] Robert Munman, "Introduction," in *Optical Corrections in the Sculpture of Donatello*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1985, 6 – 7.
[387] The sculpture has been attributed to the workshop of the sculptors Giovanni and Ciolo di Neri, and has been dated to ca. 1310. See Antje Middeldorf Kosegarten, *Sienesische Bildhauer am Duomo Vecchio. Studien zur Skulptur in Siena 1250 – 1330.* Munich: Bruckmann, 1984, 132 – 133; and Roberto Bartalini, "I Santi patroni e la Caritas della cupola del duomo, la bottega pisana di Giovanni e Ciolo di Neri," in Mario Lorenzoni ed., *Le Sculture del Duomo di Siena*. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2009, 55 – 60. Brendan Cassidy suggested the possibility that the sculpture may have been a personification of Siena in female form. See Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," 125.

Crescenzio situated next to her (Fig. 136). From this angle the figure does not appear to deviate at all from standard anatomy.

The sculptural orientation towards the position of an anticipated beholder that is seen in the Loggia della Mercanzia façade was a further development of this earlier tradition. Federighi almost certainly turned to the exaggerated features of Giovanni Pisano's sculptures as a starting point for the straining neck of his figure of *Vittore*, for example, although he did not need to distort anatomical form to the same extent in order to achieve the desired effect. This lack of distortion is mainly due to the lower positions of the sculptures on the loggia's façade, but it also indicates a shift in the intended effect. No longer a matter of improving a sculpture's legibility when seen from below, with the Mercanzia the perspectival relationship with a beholder was to a certain extent reversed. The emphasis was now placed upon making the beholder more "visible" to the gazes of the façade sculptures.[388] The effect upon entering the Croce del Travaglio from the north on the Strada Romana is disconcerting as one becomes keenly aware of being inspected by the monumental figures. From a position situated to the southwest of the Loggia della Mercanzia on the Via di Città the sensation produced is quite different. All of the sculptures face away from anyone approaching the loggia from this location, resulting in a feeling of complete disregard (Fig. 137).

Here it is important to note that the gaze of saintly figures demanded a particular level of respect and comportment of attitude on the part of pre-modern beholders. Examining the nearly ubiquitous presence of images of the Virgin in street tabernacles constructed throughout the topography of early modern Venice, the historian Edward Muir argued that the introduction of

[388] Michael Cole made a similar argument regarding Giambologna's strategic placement of public sculpture in Florentine piazzas so that the figures addressed beholders located at predictable points in space: "One way of characterizing the result would be to say that Giambologna reversed the expected relationship between object and spectator." See Cole, "Sculpture in the City," 280.

these monuments into the urban environment "created a setting where reverential behavior was appropriate."[389] Muir believed that the proliferation of such shrines not only encouraged a pacified populace by placing the streets under the watchful gaze of the Virgin but also fostered the production of Venetian *communitas*.[390] The art historian Fabrizio Nevola extended these ideas to the fifteenth-century Sienese context by arguing that the pervasive presence of sacred images of the Virgin in the city's revamped topography "operated as a form of localized surveillance" by bringing "the gaze of the divine to bear on the polity," and that a network of images of the Virgin offered a "form of social control that rested on almost universal belief structures."[391] Nevola cited the construction of shrines dedicated to the Virgin at sites of urban renewal, noting how the introduction of these images were in part motivated by a desire to restore the sites to a condition "fitting to be honored by the Virgin Mary's gaze."[392]

A number of fifteenth-century sources indicate a broad cultural awareness of the potential of art objects to function as agents of surveillance. Bernardino of Siena told his female followers that images of the Madonna situated in the bedroom were monitoring their activities and to adjust their behaviour out of reverence for her.[393] Later in the century Girolamo Savonarola

[389] Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner," 25.
[390] Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner," 28.
[391] See Nevola, "Surveillance and Control of the Street in Renaissance Italy," 98 -101.
[392] One shrine was built along one of Siena's main roads as part of a project to clear out an overgrown building lot, while a second was built in an abandoned area near the Porta della Pescaia. See Nevola, "Surveillance and Control of the Street in Renaissance Italy," 98.
[393] "…è dipinta la sua figura, chè in camera, allato alla vergine Maria, ogni tristizia di liscio, d'ampolle, di vanità si tengono. Avetele poca reverenzia, e voi arete da lei poca grazia. Assai riverenzia, assai grazia aresti." Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari.* Ciro Cannarozzi ed., Firenze: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1934, vol. 5, 207.

similarly warned Florentines against committing sins under the gaze of the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary at the Annunziata.[394]

At the Loggia della Mercanzia the orientation of the façade sculptures towards the Croce del Travaglio enhances the watchful attitudes of the figures, emphasizing their engagement with any individual entering one of the most highly traversed spaces in the city.[395] Other art historians have commented upon this element of the loggia's design. Diana Norman briefly remarked upon the way the figure of Vittore seems to anxiously keep watch over the intersection:

> The way the figure [of Vittore] is represented gives the spectator standing at street level a strong sense that the saint is directing his attention towards, and almost bracing himself to encounter, anyone or anything approaching from the left. This, however, was precisely the direction from which important political and diplomatic visitors to the city would approach—if travelling from the north—as part of carefully structured civic processions. It was also the direction from which armies threatening Siena from the north might approach, particularly those of Siena's traditional enemy, Florence.[396]

Here it is surprising that Norman did not extend this observation to the remaining figures on the façade. For it is clear that it is not only the figure of Vittore who directs his gaze towards the Croce, but in fact each of the façade sculptures. Standing at attention in anticipation of possible approaching threats, the saints of the loggia façade never leave their post. As Norman notes, not only did the Croce del Travaglio receive a large amount of local foot traffic on a daily basis, it was also an important ritual space. During the translation of the head of Catherine of Siena on 5

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[394] Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche Sopra l'Esodo.* Rome: Angelo Belardetti, 1955, vol. 1, 52, as cited in Richard C. Trexler, "Cosmos," in *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1980, 69, n. 113.

[395] In a related argument, Michael Cole suggested that a similar strategy was operative in late sixteenth-century Florence, where Ammanati's *Justice* column in Piazza Santa Trinita and Giambologna's *Equestrian Monument to Cosimo I* in the Piazza della Signoria were oriented in order to direct the gazes of the figures towards key procession routes so that the sculptures might "address the city" and "direct themselves at viewers located at predictable points in space." See Cole, "Sculpture in the City," 258 – 265.

[396] Diana Norman, "Siena and its Renaissance," 161.

May 1384 the solemn procession passed through the intersection on its way to San Domenico.[397] In addition, the traditional ceremonial entrance for dignitaries visiting the city was the Porta Camollia on the Strada Romana. It was here that the Emperor Frederick III entered Siena on 7 February 1452 with "great peace, glory and triumph" before passing through the Croce del Travaglio.[398] Similar pomp characterized the procession of the Spanish envoy Don Juan Emanuel on 28 March 1520 to announce the election of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. Upon arriving at the Croce the cavalcade was greeted by trumpeters playing from the battlements of the Palazzo Pubblico and seven artillery pieces firing in the Piazza del Campo.[399] It would be the same route taken by the cortege of Violante Beatrice of Bavaria when she took up her role of governor of Siena on 12 April 1717.[400] The intersection was also an important meeting place for Sienese elites. In his description of Siena from 1679 Curzio Sergardi noted that the local nobility would begin their days by gathering next to the Loggia della Mercanzia.[401]

Considering the strategic and ritual significance of the Croce del Travaglio it is understandable that civic leaders would want to make it a closely scrutinized space. It should come as no surprise, then, that the Loggia della Mercanzia exemplifies the recommendations

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[397] Johannes Jørgensen, "Epilogue," in Ingeborg Lund trans., *Saint Catherine of Siena*. London, New York.: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938, 399.
[398] "cum maxima pace, Gloria et triunfo." ASS, Concistoro 1673, fol. 27 (7 February 1452), as cited in Philippa Jackson and Fabrizio Nevola, "Introduction, Beyond the Palio: Urbanism and Ritual in Renaissance Siena." *Renaissance Studies* 20.2 (April 2006), 141, n. 21. For more on the entry of Frederick III see Fabrizio Nevola, "Lieto e trionphante per la città: experiencing a mid-fifteenth-century imperial triumph along Siena's Strada Romana." *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003), 603 – 606.
[399] An account of this event may be found in ASS, Concistoro 921, fol. 8, as cited in Aldo Lusini, "Una curiosità musicale senese," *La Diana* 3 (1928): 303 – 5. See also Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, 492.
[400] Ludovico Sergardi, "Le stampe in onore della principessa Violante Beatrice di Bavaria nel carteggio di Ludovico Sergardi (Quinto Settano) con Giulio del Taia e Alessandro Marsili," in Enrico Toti ed., Maria Assunta Ceppari Ridolfi, Enrico Toti and Patrizia Turrini trans., *La Descrizione Della Città di Siena di Curzio Sergardi, 1679*. Siena: Protagon, 2008, 103.
[401] "La mattina la nobiltà si raduna alla Croce del Travaglio, acanto alla quale vi è la loggia de' Mercanti." Curzio Sergardi, "Trascrizione," in *La Descrizione Della Città di Siena di Curzio Sergardi, 1679*, 68.

made in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section from Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria.* For Alberti, situating a portico at an important intersection not only provided a place for civic elites to sit and conduct business, it also allowed for the strategic surveillance of the streets.[402] This was precisely the situation at the Loggia della Mercanzia where merchants could sit upon the benches and negotiate business affairs, a vantage point from which all individuals traversing the city's main intersection were made highly visible.

That keeping watch over the Croce was one of the primary functions of the sculptural program of the loggia is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the final niche, that placed on the southwest pier and facing up the Via di Città, was ultimately left empty (Fig. 138). Originally a sculpture of St. Crescenzio, the only early patron saint of Siena that does not appear on the façade, was meant to occupy this spot.[403] In July of 1458, however, plans were altered and the Opera del Duomo commissioned the Florentine artist Donatello to sculpt an entirely different figure. It was to have been a magnificent sculpture of the Franciscan friar Bernardino degli Albizzeschi, the famous local preacher who had only recently been canonized as a saint in 1450.[404] Bernardino was an important exemplar of moral conduct for the Sienese both in a civic and religious sense. He had, in many ways, come to embody the virtues of ascetic self-discipline and self-denial so valued by the coalitional republican regime. The reasons that led Donatello to fail in delivering this figure are unknown and must remain in the realm of conjecture. What

[402] Alberti, "Libro Ottavo, Capitolo VI," in *L'Architettura (De re aedificatoria)*, vol. 1, 713 – 715, as cited in note 111 above.
[403] Elinor Margaret Richter, "Artistic Development," in *The Sculpture of Antonio Federighi*. PhD Dissertation, Colombia University, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984 (8427456), 43.
[404] The decision to commission Donatello to sculpt the figure of St. Bernardino took place on 8 July 1458: "Et etiam deliberaverunt et decreverunt quod Donatello schultori detur ad schulpendum et fabricandum statuam et figuram marmoream Sancti Bernardini, non excedendo summam pretii dicte figure florenorum sessaginta otto denariorum senensium, vel ad plus vantagium Opere." Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena, *Deliberazioni* 27, fol. 47v. See also Milanesi, *Documenti*, II, 310 – 311, doc. 217, note.

cannot be denied, however, is that the position of this niche, the only space not facing towards the Croce del Travaglio, meant that it was unsuitable for performing surveillance upon the intersection. That unsuitability made it the least important of the niches on the loggia's façade.

In the contentious world of late-medieval Siena, where the threat of factionalism was ever present, suspicion was rampant. Citizens and government officials alike were encouraged to closely observe the behavior of their peers and report those who stepped out of line, as evidenced by the self-policing sumptuary laws and the expansion of bureaucratic apparatuses to keep watch on individuals. Much of the public art commissioned during this period needs to be understood as participating in the production of this culture of surveillance. Scrutinizing gazes made the force of these monuments palpable, as fields of visibility were produced in a variety of spaces. The populace was being subjected to evaluation by highly respected exemplars from the past whose actions in life provided behavioral models against which to judge one's own conduct. As the communal government sought to wrest control of the city from ancient rival factions—in particular the *monti* and *contrade*—through the enactment of policies of centralization, these exemplars brought their gazes to bear on the polity. The expropriation of the Loggia della Mercanzia and the use of iconography associated with the commune declared the state's eminent status and the decline of the previously independent institution. Even more significantly, the reorientation of the Mercanzia palace towards the Croce del Travaglio through the construction of the loggia expanded the central government's space of authority beyond the traditional limits of the Piazza del Campo while the watchful façade sculptures extended the regime's gaze to this key intersection. Acting as surrogate forms of localized surveillance, these exemplars invited the beholder to contemplate their own relationship to the state and to consider whether one was acting in the interest of the common good or out of factionalism and continued infighting.

Chapter Three: Real Presence

Making a saint

A panel painting depicting Bernardino of Siena, made by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio for the Basilica of the Osservanza in Siena, is one of the earliest surviving portraits of the saint (Fig. 139). Standing approximately 200 cm tall the panel is signed and dated to 1444, the same year Bernardino died in the central Italian town of L'Aquila.[405] The image possesses a number of features that would become normative iconography for the saint. The figure is shown standing on a fictive marble ground in a three-quarter posture, his emaciated frame accentuated by the large habit that envelopes his body. Held delicately in his right hand between thumb and forefinger is a

[405] Bernardino died in May of 1444 after having fallen ill at L'Aquila. On the Sunday before Ascension Day he was brought to the Conventual Franciscan church of San Francesco and placed in the bed of a cell. On the morning of Ascension Day, 21 May 1444, the body was put on display in front of the high altar. A medical doctor testified that during ostentation the corpse emitted no foul odor. Reports of miraculous healings associated with the body began to circulate almost immediately, as revealed by a book of miracles produced in L'Aquila. On the very first day of the ostentation a boy named Pasquale was brought to Bernardino's side and was instantly cured of a limp in his gait which had plagued him for years. A Franciscan monk, who had suffered the loss of hearing in his right ear, touched the linen cloth in which the body had been washed and cleansed. Then, having prostrated himself before the corpse, the monk found his hearing miraculously recovered. Each time a new healing occurred the bells of the campanile were rung to announce the event to the population. The descriptions of miracles were brought before the *Signori della Camera* and the bishop to be officially established and approved as authentic. The accounts contained in the book of miracles emphasize the presence of social elites who had witnessed the spectacular events, and record the date on which each miracle had occurred. See "Miracula XXX, Intra LII dies ab obitu patrata, & coram Eugenio IV producta, *Ex instrumento publico Aquilano*," in *Acta Sanctorum.* Société des Bollandists eds. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1999, Maii V, Dies 20, 284. The authentication of miracles at the local level in L'Aquila are in line with Laura Ackerman Smoller's own assertion that it was possible at this time "to speak of 'authentic miracles' even before the College of Cardinals or the pope had declared them as such." See Laura Ackerman Smoller, "From Authentic Miracles to a Rhetoric of Authenticity: Examples from the Canonization and Cult of St. Vincent Ferrer," in *Church History*, 80:4, December 2011, 780-781. For the account of Bernardino's body emitting no foul odor, see Joseph Ziegler, "Practitioners and Saints: Medical Men in Canonization Processes in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries." *Social History of Medicine* 12.2 (1999), 218. See also Celestino Piana, "I processi de canonizzazione sulla vita di S. Bernardino da Siena," in *Archivum franciscanum historicum; periodica publication trimestris cur app. Collegi D. Bonaventure* 44 (1951), 88, 402, 405 and 407. For John of Capistrano's account of the death and funeral see Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," ante 1450, in J. de la Haye (ed.), *S. Bernardini Senensi opera Omnia edition novissima Lugdunensi postrema emedatior et nitidior*, 5 parts in 4 vols, Venice, 1745, vol. I, xliii.

golden-rayed circular YHS trigram of the cult of the name of Jesus that Bernardino had done much to propagate during his lifetime.[406] In his left hand he holds an open book with an excerpt from Paul's letter to the Colossians 3:2, which proclaims: "Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth."[407] His head surrounded by a golden halo, Bernardino possesses the features of an elderly man with sunken cheeks, toothless mouth, and sharply pointed nose and chin. His tonsured hair is composed of wisps of white paint, and his thin, wrinkled neck further stresses the frailty of his elderly body. When one compares the features of this painting with those found on the wax death mask of Bernardino, one is immediately struck by how much the painting adheres to the physiognomy of the mask (Fig. 140).[408]

Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's early portrait allows us to reject definitively outdated notions of fifteenth-century Sienese painters as conservatively clinging to fourteenth-century representational models. For the picture indicates a highly ambitious break from tradition.[409] Well into the fifteenth century saints were represented not through depictions of their earthly

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[406] For the history of the cult of the Holy Name see Ephrem Longpré, "Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus." *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 (1935): 443 – 76 and 29 (1936): 142 – 68; and 30 (1937): 170 – 92; Peter R. Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name*. St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: St. Bonaventure College, 1943; Agostino Montanaro, *Il Culto ai Nome di Gesù.* Naples: Istituto Grafico Editoriale Italiano, 1958; Loman McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena." *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969): 37 – 65; Daniel Arasse, "Iconographie et evolution spirituelle; la tablette de St. Bernardin de Sienne," in *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 50, (1974): 433 – 56; Daniel Arasse, "Entre devotion et hèrèsie: la tablette de Saint Bernardino ou le secret d'un prèdicateur." *Res* 28 (1995): 118 – 39; and Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
[407] The inscription reads: "quae sursum sunt sapite non quae supra terram."
[408] The death mask is kept at the convent of San Bernardino at L'Aquila. For more on the mask see P. Misciatelli, "La maschera di S. Bernardino da Siena." *Rassegna d'Arte Senese* 18, 1925, 40 – 42.
[409] Carl Brandon Strehlke noted that Bernardino himself had become a "new subject" in Sienese painting, and that "it is as if his physical appearance encouraged realism in Sienese art." See Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 42. Machtelt Israëls also referred to the novel descriptive mode evident in the portraits of Bernardino: "What is new and remarkable about the Bernardino substitute figures 'at a distance' is their verisimilitude. It is striking that the traditional idealism in portrayals of holy men was replaced by an ambition for realism in Bernardino's time." See Machtelt Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance: Early Images of Bernardino da Siena and the Issue of Portraiture (with a New Proposal for Sassetta)." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 11 (2007), 104.

mortal physique but in an abstract "*imago caelestis*."[410] These images had been characterized by idealized, unmoving and expressionless faces as seen for instance in a Sienese reliquary bust of *St. Christina* from the first half of the fifteenth century located in the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala (Fig. 141). With a height of approximately 35 cm, the bust presents the saint's features as highly generalized, her gaze lifted towards the heavens. Made of wrought copper that was then gilded, Christina is identified by a band of translucent enamels near the base of the bust that spell out her name in the colors of blue, yellow, green, brown, purple, and red. The luxurious wealth of the shimmering materials adds a sense of wonder and otherness to such images of sanctity while the idealized facial features were physiognomic characteristics of representations of saints in the Heavenly Jerusalem.

In early depictions of Bernardino, however, the unearthly beauty that had been a marker of the preceding images was withheld and the saint was instead shown possessing the recognizable features of his ephemeral body.[411] This turn to a descriptive pictorial mode was a

[410] Urte Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam: Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocentro.* Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2012, 176.

[411] The desire for resemblance in early representations of Bernardino is reflected in a number of the documents from the period. In a letter dated 22 March 1445, John of Capistrano had asked the Sienese *Signoria* to send him "as veristic a likeness as can be made, of the blessed father Bernardino, in order to measure the stature of that blessed father," suggesting an interest in recording the exact height of Bernardino. See Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 86. In May of 1445 the Compagnia della Vergine in Siena had also commissioned Sano di Pietro to paint an image of Bernardino for their confraternity, "a fare dipegnare il beato Bernardino in chel modo che parà a loro." The contract for this commission contains atypical requirements for the period that may have been connected to desires for as veristic an image of the saint as possible. The contract stipulated that Sano di Pietro was required to paint the image at his own expense to the exact wishes of the client, and if they were not satisfied he was to repaint it as often as was required until their needs had been met: "El detto maestro Sano s'obligha di dipegniare il detto beato Bernardino a piacimento a piacimento [sic] de'sopradetti aloghatori, e se a loro non piacese, s'obriglia di guast[ar]lo e rifallo tanto e quante volte e sopratetti siano bene contenti." See Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam*, 155. Following the canonization of Bernardino in 1450 by Nicholas V, during the celebrations in Siena altars were set up on street-crossings and were adorned with sculpted and painted images of the saint, "tutti che lo rassembravano vivo e al naturale." See Giugurta Tommasi*, Dell'historie di Siena. Deca Seconda. Vol. II. Libri IV-VII (1446-1496),* ed. M. de Gregorio, Siena, 2004, 42.

new development in the genre of saintly portraiture.[412] Machtelt Israëls has argued that one way to understand this desire for verisimilitude was through Siena's longing for a substitute for the body of the saint. For the corpse remained in L'Aquila where Bernardino had died, the Aquilani refusing to relinquish such a valuable relic.[413] Israëls claimed that, "the function of [the] image as a substitute for the body indeed seems to have dictated the craving for close resemblance to a person whom everyone in Siena had known."[414] The development is portrayed as having arisen through a desire to keep Bernardino's corpse "emphatically near," and that through these paintings "his presence thus remained woven into the fabric of everyday life, just as when he had

[412] It would be nearly two decades before the Florentines would adapt a death mask prototype for use in descriptive representations of St. Antoninus. On the Antonine images, see Urte Krass, "A Case of Corporate Identity; the Multiplied Face of Saint Antonino of Florence." *Representations* 131.1 (2015), 1 – 21.

[413] While the magistrates of Siena had requested the return of Bernardino's body their efforts were to be in vain. L'Aquila therefore remained the initial focal point of devotion as hordes of the faithful came to visit the corpse. Through the transfer of contact relics and the creation of images, however, miraculous events soon began to radiate from other centers as well. It was in Siena where miracles initially proliferated around images of the saint. At the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala the infirmed were bringing silver and wax ex-voto offerings on a daily basis to a now lost image delivered by the painter Stefano di Giovanni di Consolo, also known as il Sassetta, in January of 1445. John of Capistrano reported that had all the healings associated with this image been recorded they would surely fill many large volumes: "In Ecclesia etiam Sanctae Mariae de Scala, Hospitalis Senensis Sanctus Bernardinus tot & tantis coruscat miraculis, quod, si omnia scripta sorent, magna librorum volumina complerentur." Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xliii. The rector of the hospital, Urbano di Pietro del Bello, also testified in 1448 to the visiting papal delegation for the ongoing canonization process as to the frequency of miracles occurring in front of the image. See Martino Bertagna, "Memorie Bernardiane I," in *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 23 (1964), 20, as cited in Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 84. On the miracles associated with the contact relics brought back to Siena in the form of clothing and belongings of Bernardino, John of Capistrano noted that: "permutant focii habitum; & tunicam & vestimenta quae per prius tulerat ad locum de la Capriola cum libris & aliis rebus deferunt extra civitatem Senarum; ubi, divina clementia disponente, beneficia plurima impenduntur multis infirmis & tribulatis qui praefatum locum visitant cum devotione & confidentia meritorum S. Bernardini, & praefato tanguntur habitu, vel signantur." See Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xliii. On the ex-voto offerings at Santa Maria della Scala, see Piana, 89. John of Capistrano describes these ex-votos as "Testantur etiam imagines argenteae, & cereae quasi innumerabiles pendentes ibidem." See Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xliii. On the request to return the body to Siena see Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 78.

[414] Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 85.

still walked the streets of Siena."[415] For Israëls the Osservanza panel was designed in order to make "the absent dead body seem present and for making the dead man seem to radiate sanctity."[416] Israëls sums up the argument in one sentence: "Absence resulted in resemblance."[417] More recently Urte Krass situated the Bernardine images within the context of broader transformations in religious practices arguing that it was the proximity of the death mask to the primary relic—its indexical generation through contact with the revered corpse—which led painters to emulate its visible forms.[418]

It may be beneficial to broaden the context within which the early images of Bernardino arose, however, for an overemphasis placed upon the relationship of the image to the death mask has come at the expense of ignoring some of their other peculiar features. Bernardino's senescent features have too often been mistaken for "signs of death," an interpretation that perhaps says more about the persistence of ageist attitudes that equate the visible effects of growing old with illness and dying than it informs us about the pictures themselves.[419] For it must be acknowledged that rather than evoking a corpse the Osservanza panel presents Bernardino first and foremost as a standing elderly individual whose attentive eyes are wide open. Then there is the question as to what Bernardino is actually doing with his rather odd gesture in this picture. Why does he seem to gingerly hold the golden-rayed YHS trigram ever so delicately between thumb and forefinger? In another panel painted by Sano di Pietro in 1445 and currently located

[415] Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 105.
[416] Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 96 – 102.
[417] Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 105.
[418] Urte Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam,*14.
[419] Joost Keizer, for instance, situates the Bernardine images as part of an "array of portraits that also document their origins in a corpse." Yet Keizer fails to acknowledge the subtle differences in his corpus of images, often mistaking elderly features for "visible traces of death." See Joost Keizer, "Portrait and Imprint in Fifteenth-Century Italy." *Art History* 38.1 (2015), especially 12 and 33.

in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo of Siena we see a similar gesture but here Bernardino does not appear to hold the trigram at all (Fig. 142). Instead it seems to hover in space as if governed by unseen forces. In this painting, as in the Osservanza panel, the manner in which the saint's head is tilted towards the YHS and its radiating rays of light creates a mirroring effect between the golden-haloed face of the saint and the circular trigram.

This compositional strategy, in which the face of the saint is brought into close proximity with the hovering trigram, clearly draws the beholder's attention. Yet to date no scholar has adequately addressed this peculiar feature. Seeking to more fully comprehend the close association drawn between Bernardino's face and the image of the Holy Name, this chapter begins with an exploration of a variety of converging developments in fifteenth-century Italy. The increasing relevance of the science of physiognomy in the fields of medicine and law, the development of new technologies based on indexical impression, and the widely-disseminated concept of the body itself as an impressionable substance all provide valuable contextual frameworks for approaching these images. Drawing upon early biographies of the saint it will be shown that on one level the close proximity of the hovering sun-like trigram to Bernardino's face was meant to evoke a miraculous apparition of a star during one of the preacher's sermons. Written accounts of the miracle describe the star as a "most evident sign" of Bernardino's sanctity, suggesting that its visualization functioned to legitimize and guarantee his ascension to sainthood. On another level the trigram referenced Bernardino's invention of a gilded and ultramarine tablet, or *tavoletta*, emblazoned with the YHS. Drawing upon some of Bernardino's sermons on the significance of the Holy Name of Jesus I argue that Bernardino based his design for the *tavoletta* upon the familiar and ever-present trigrams found imprinted upon Eucharistic host wafers. Telling his audience that through repetitive exposure to the YHS they could ingest

the Holy Name into their bodies, Bernardino proposed a process of absorption that paralleled the way the Eucharist was meant to unite the faithful in the body of Christ. I end this chapter with a discussion of Bernardino's physiological conception of the sign in relation to the nearly ubiquitous presence of the trigram within the built environment of Siena. It will be shown that the Holy Name's repetition throughout the Sienese cityscape encouraged a pacified populace through the creation of spaces where reverential behavior was appropriate, fostering the production of Sienese *communitas*.[420] At the same time the widespread introduction of the trigram placed a Christological overlay upon the built environment of the city, forever altering the devotional focus of the civic religion of Siena with its earlier emphasis upon Mary to include a new Christocentric orientation.

"*Ad ignem defluit cera*": the impressionable body

During the fifteenth century the body was thought of as a malleable and receptive substance capable of holding an impression.[421] The medical fields had embraced the science of physiognomy which proposed that signs found on the body could divulge certain information

[420] Edith and Victor Turner had theorized the power of ritual to construct social cohesion through the concept of *communitas*. See Edith and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, 13.

[421] The comparison of the person to wax, impressionable as if by a seal, was an ancient metaphor and was often used by theologians to characterize the *imago dei*, the image in whose resemblance mankind was made. For more on this tradition see Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Images of Identity and the Identity of Images," in *When Ego was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011, 161 - 205; and Robert Javelet, *Image et Ressemblance au Douzième Siècle: de Saint Anselme à Alain de Lille.* Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967, vol. 1, xix – xxiii. In his introduction to *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, Luke Syson noted a correlation between the science of physiognomy and growing verisimilitude in the fifteenth century: "the exploration, and subsequent diffusion of different ancient theories of the relationship between physical appearance and the soul – sometimes complimentary, often contradictory – provided the intellectual foundation of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century portrait strategies. Belief in the utility of physiognomical theories was widespread throughout the Middle Ages, but the growing popularity of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Physiognomy in the fifteenth century demonstrates the greater centrality of such a credo…To this 'scientific' dimension, learned from the ancients, one must add Plato's notion, variously understood in the Renaissance, of the relationship between beauty and virtue." See Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson eds. *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance.* London: British Museum Press, 1998, 10.

about the soul's nature and character.[422] Along these lines the Italian physician Michele Savonarola claimed "nobody doubts that body and soul are connected by some law of nature, and that the activities of one may affect the other."[423] In the legal realm the skin and its markings became the primary site for identification. What distinguished an individual from others was not to be found inside the body but on its outside, that is, on its skin, through distinctive marks including moles and warts.[424] Beginning in the fourteenth century and continuing into the fifteenth, legal tracts admonished their readers to be mindful of corporeal signs, such as blanching or blushing, which might point towards guilt.[425] Clerical enterprises also came to embrace some of the 'truth-telling' aspects of the body's surfaces. A number of fifteenth-century compilations of pastoral treatises contain physiognomic texts which would have been useful to priests in fulfilling their duties.[426] Knowing the sinful tendencies of an individual was a key

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[422] On the relationship between medicine and the science of Physiognomy see Joseph Ziegler, "Philosophers and Physicians on the Scientific Validity of Latin Physiognomy, 1200-1500." *Early Science & Medicine* 12.3 (2007), 290; and Ian Maclean, "The Logic of Physiognomy in the Late Renaissance." *Early Science & Medicine* 16.4 (2011), 278. Katharine Park has also discussed at length the phenomena of signs discovered in bodily organs during autopsies. See Katharine Park, "The Criminal and the Saintly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 47.1 (1994): 1-33; "The Life of the Corpse: Dissection and Division in Late Medieval Europe," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50.1 (1995): 111-32; "Dissecting the Female Body: From Women's Secrets to the Secrets of Nature," in Adele Seeff and Jane Donawerth, eds., *Attending to Early Modern Women*, Newark: University of Delaware Press; London/Toronto: Associated University Presses, 2000, 29-47; and *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection.* New York: Zone Books, 2006.

[423] "Nemo quidem ambigit animam cum corpore quadam lege nature uallida connexione coniungi ut suis in operationibus alterum ab altero paciatur." Michele Savonarola, *Speculum phisonomie*, in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 7357, 1450, fol. 2rb, as cited in Ziegler, "Philosophers and Physicians on the Scientific Validity of Latin Physiognomy, 1200-1500," 305.

[424] Valentin Groebner has described the truth-telling nature of skin surfaces at this time: "The human epidermis can be understood as a document, record or archive…its scarring and blemishes represent, as *signa rememorativa*…a surface that has been written on irrevocably, where all is exteriorized and made fully visible…reading the skin – and writing on it – was an acknowledged technique for establishing the truth." See Groebner, *Who are you?,* 97.

[425] Such bodily signs came to replace older procedures of furnishing evidence, for example through purifying oaths, "to new forms of establishing the truth through material, visible evidence." See Groebner, *Who are you?,* 102 – 103.

[426] As examples of these fifteenth-century sources Joseph Ziegler cites MS lat. 711 an Italian pocket size pastoral book located in the BNF, Paris, a German moralistic pastoral handbook located in Strasbourg,

concern for confessors, as the goal of confession was achieving the ideal of full transparency.[427] The inclusion of physiognomic texts within pastoral treatises provided a priest with a system for reading sinful proclivities in the face of a confessant.

For it was the face, more than any other part of the body, which became the locus where individuality was inscribed.[428] During the fourteenth century Pietro d'Abano, a doctor of philosophy and medicine at Paris and later Padua, claimed that portraits not only reproduced bodily similarity for recognition and identification but also exposed their object's soul.[429] Pietro believed that painting was the medium best capable of revealing an individual's character, something that could only be achieved if the painter rendered similarity "*per omnia*."[430] As evidence that the face was best suited for revealing the soul Pietro turned to the science of physiognomy:

> This is suggested by the physiognomists, who attend more to the signs which are taken from the face and especially from the eyes rather than to the others [body parts]…that someone can be truly recognized through a well marked image for what kind of man he is not only insofar as the body but also the soul, is shown by the story in the physiognomy in the Book *De regimine principum*, written for Alexander by Aristotle about the figure

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and Royal 8 F VI, "a priest's manual with simple, short moralistic treatises and practical advice (sometimes in English) for the confessor or priest" located in the British Library, London. See Ziegler, "Text and Context," 173, footnote 41.

[427] Dallas Denery has discussed the late medieval concern for priests to be able to elicit "true, complete, full, plain, bitter and modest" confessions from those under their care. See Dallas G. Denery, *Seeing and being seen in the later medieval world: optics, theology, and religious life.* Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 50.

[428] Maclean, "The Logic of Physiognomony in the Late Renaissance," 288. Maclean specifically cites the sixteenth-century physiognomers such as Gerolamo Cardano (1501-1576) and Giambattista della Porta (ca. 1535-1615) who had discussed the body as if it were a text.

[429] According to Joseph Ziegler this is the earliest example of an awareness that portraits could reproduce bodily similarity as well as expose their object's soul. See Ziegler, "Philosophers and Physicians on the Scientific Validity of Latin Physiognomy, 1200-1500," 302.

[430] In his commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata physica*, a collection of problems mainly concerned with natural science, Pietro d'Abano makes a direct reference to the painter Giotto. The reference occurs in a deliberation upon the *problemata* of Why Do [people] Make Images of the Face?: "Utrum…Solvit dupliciter dicens primo causam esse quia per imagines faciei representatur quails fuerit dispositio ipsius cuius est imago, et maxime cum fuerit depicta pictore sciente per omnia assimilare, puta Zoto, u tea deveniamus in cognitionem illius ita." See J. Thomann, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991), 239-241.

> of Hippocrates painted on a parchment and shown to Philemon, the great Physiognomist.[431]

Similar sentiments are expressed in a treatise composed ca. 1440 and containing the commentary of Évrart de Conty (1330-1405), master of medicine in Paris, where a chapter is entitled "Le visage révèle la personne."[432] In it de Conty argued that the face was the key to decoding the disposition of the body as well as the natural inclinations of the soul.[433]

Early accounts of Bernardino's life demonstrate an interest in providing physical descriptions of the saint's face.[434] The second chapter of the earliest biography, written by Barnabò da Siena within ten months of Bernardino's death, begins with an account that focuses on the venerable visage of the elderly friar: "Among the rest of mortals he was of moderate stature, with a ruddy countenance revealing a keen and serious mind, it was a beautiful face,

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[431] "quod indicant physionomi attendentes magis ad signa que accipiuntur a facie ac ab oculis proprie, quam ad reliqua, ut in editione mea physionomie declaravi. Quod autem quis imagine quails sit recte cognoscatur expressa non solum quantum ad ea que corporis, verum etiam anime monstratur ex historia physionomie libri 'de regimine principum' Alexandro ab Aristotele conscripti, de figura Hippocratis in pergameno depicta et Philomoni ingenti physionomo monstrata." See Thomann, "Pietro d'Abano on Giotto," 240-241.

[432] Évrart de Conty, *Le livre des 'éschez amoureux' moralisés,* F. Guichard-Tesson and B. Roy eds., Montreal: Ceres, 1993, 32.

[433] "come il appert par la phisonomie, qui use des signes de la face que de quelques autres." See de Conty, 32.

[434] The primary fifteenth-century biographical accounts of the life of Bernardino degli Albizzeschi consulted for this essay were written by two of the saint's close friends. Bernabaeus Senensis wrote the first biography of Bernardino only ten months after the saint's death. See Bernabaeus Senensis, "Vita I Antiquior, Auctore Bernabæo Senensi coævo. *Ex Ms. Francisci S. R. E. Card. Barberini*," in *Acta Sanctorum.* Société des Bollandists eds. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1999, Maii V, Dies 20, 277-284. The other is the account given by John of Capistrano (1386-1456) some time prior to 1450. See Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xxxiv – xliii. Maffeo Vegio, a humanist who worked in the papal court under Eugenius IV, also provided an early biography of the saint. See Maphaeus Vegius, "Vita II Antiquior, Auctore Maphæo Veghio Laudensi, in pluribus oculato teste, *Ex Ms. Vallicellano Patrum Congregationis Oratorii Romæ*," in *Acta Sanctorum.* Société des Bollandists eds. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1999, Maii V, Dies 20, 287-305. Some modern accounts of Bernardino's life may be found in Philippe Jansen, "Bernardin de Sienne," in André Vauchez ed., *Histoire des Saints et de la Sainteté Chrétienne.* Paris: Hachette, 1986-1988, vol. 7, 74-83; Paul Thureau-Dangin. *Saint Bernardine of Siena.* London: J. M. Dent & co.; New York, 1906; F. G. Holweck, "Bernardinus degl' Albizzeschi," in *A biographical dictionary of the saints, with a general introduction on hagiology.* Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1969; 1924, 155.

indeed, a venerable appearance (*aspectu quidem veneranda)*."[435] I believe that this *aspectu quidem veneranda* of the saint's face should be taken quite literally, that is, at face value. There are multiple possible usages for the Latin word 'aspectus,' including the action of seeing or sight, the range of vision, the gaze, the expression in the face, and the visible form, appearance or aspect of a thing.[436] Of all these definitions it is the notion of having a venerable visible *form* that seems to fit most aptly within the sentence structure used by Barnabò.[437]

André Vauchez has noted that during the late medieval period "sainthood, in the popular mind, was first an energy (*virtus*) which expressed itself through the body."[438] *Virtus* manifested as a kind of mysterious radiation, a supernatural power emanating from the body of a saint that could spread through air and water.[439] Just as physiognomy had posited the skin, and in particular the face, as an inscribable surface where the soul left an impression, these impressions could also have been understood as indexical traces of the saint's *virtus*. If the *virtus* of the saint was expressed through the body, perhaps vestiges of these "expressions" could have been replicated in images.

It was precisely during the fifteenth century that a number of novel media appeared that were specifically able to replicate traces left by impressions. These were the production of

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[435] The passage appears in a section dealing with Bernardino's *constitutio naturalis:* "Fuit autem inter reliquos mortales mediocri statura, recta tamen; vultus rubicundus, alacritatem præ se ferens atque animum gravem, pulcra facie atque aspectu quidem veneranda." See Bernabaeus Senensis, "Vita I Antiquior," 279. The translation is mine. Immediately following this description Barnabò enumerates Bernardino's moral characteristics: "Vita quippe integerrimos, moribus honestus, continentia temperatus, innocentia vero purissimus, misericordia summa cum pietate imbutus, potius divinus quam humanus putabatur." Bernabaeus Senensis, "Vita I Antiquior," 279.

[436] "aspectus" in *Oxford Latin Dictionary.* P. G. W. Glare ed. 2nd ed. vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 200.

[437] The primary usages for the term 'venerandum' are some thing or somebody that is to be regarded with religious awe, or a person, place or thing that is to be treated with profound respect, venerable, august. See "venerandus" *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* vol. 2, 2235.

[438] André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages.* Jean Birrell trans. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 427.

[439] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 429 – 430.

portrait medals and of prints.[440] Yet these techniques of reproduction were not entirely new inventions. Rather they were a more efficient means of replicating images that developed out of a long tradition of autopoietic media. The archetypal Christian image produced through a process of impression was the *Sudarium*, or Veil of Veronica; the piece of cloth that tradition held had produced an acheiropoietic image of the face of Christ.[441] There was also the ancient metaphor that compared the *imago dei* to a creative act in which human beings were "minted" like coins in the image of God.[442] Artists had been using imprinting techniques for centuries; wax seals were a genre long associated with the reproduction of identity, while the portrait medal had the pilgrim badge as a precursor and textile templates preceded the Renaissance print.[443] Amongst this broader milieu of printed media can also be considered the long tradition of the death mask.[444] In terms of image and relic theory the death mask is a rather odd hybrid object. It was a contact relic because it had touched the face of the saint and became soaked in the saint's *virtus*. Yet at the same time it was also a primary relic in that it contained flakes of dead skin and hairs that had

[440] Urte Krass had seen the rise of these media as key to understanding the development of veristic images of saints in the fifteenth century. See Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam,* 12.
[441] For orientation on the literature on the Veronica see Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy and Guido Milanese eds, *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
[442] Dieter Lau explored the tradition of the "Mensch-Münze" from its origins in antiquity and the ancient Greek theory of the forms to the Christian tradition of the *imago dei* under which the metaphor was extended to other techniques of impression such as seals and branding. See Dieter Lau, "Nummi Dei sumus: Beitrag zu einer historischen Münzmetaphorik." *Wiener Studien* 93 (1980): 192 – 228. Jeffrey Hamburger noted that the minting metaphor "formed one of the most common ways of expressing the relationship between God and man as the *imago dei*," citing passages from Augustine and Gerard of Cambrai as evidence of this lasting tradition. See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The Mirror of Wisdom: The Cult of St. John," in *St. John the Divine: The Deified Evangelist in Medieval Art and Theology.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002, 140 – 143.
[443] On medieval seals and concepts of identity and individuality see Bedos-Rezak, "Images of Identity and the Identity of Images," 161 – 205. On the relationship of the pilgrimage badge to the portrait medal and textile templates to the Renaissance print, see Peter Schmidt, 'The multiple image: The beginnings of printmaking, between old theories and new approaches', in Peter W. Parshall, ed., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, Washington, DC, 2005, 37–56.
[444] Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam,* 119.

been transferred during the production process.[445] Finally the mask was an indexical image of the face's physiognomic features which had been left imprinted into the medium.[446]

As previously mentioned, the death mask became the sanctified prototype for the earliest images of Bernardino. There was precedent for using masks as models in the painting of secular portraits. In his *Libro dell'arte* Cennino Cennini recommended that artists use plaster casts taken from living individuals as models for painting their portraits.[447] Such masks were sometimes used to make secular portrait busts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[448] Yet employing a death mask as a prototype for representations of a saint was something quite new in the Quattrocento. As Urte Krass described this development: "the impressed saint's face is evidently the iconographic paradigm of the hour."[449]

A recent article by Roberto Cobianchi suggests some broader implications of these developments in the production of early images of Bernardino. Cobianchi claims that a portrait medal of Bernardino struck by the Ferrarese artist Antonio Marescotti in 1444 became a prototype for paintings that were disseminated in the north of Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century (Fig. 143).[450] The medal represents the translation of that most archetypal

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[445] Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam,* 133.
[446] There is also an acheiropoietic dimension to the death mask, as it was an indexical image that, through the process of impression, was not created by human hands. See Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam,* 133.
[447] Cennini considered the making of such masks to be "l'improntare di natura." See Cennino Cennini, *ll libro dell'arte*, ed. Franco Brunello, Vicenza, 1971, 198-202.
[448] Painted terracotta images of Lorenzo de' Medici and Giovanni de' Medici are examples of this phenomenon. See Jeanette Kohl, "Casting Renaissance Florence. The Bust of Giovanni de' Medici and Indexical Portraiture," in Peta Motture, Emma Jones, and Dimitrios Zikos eds., *Carvings, Casts & Collectors: The Art of Renaissance Sculpture*. London: Victoria & Albert, 2013, 58 – 71. In a related study Hugo van der Velden discusses the production of indexical wax votive portraits during the fifteenth century in Northern Europe. See Hugo van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gérard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
[449] "…das abgedruckte Heiligengesicht ist offenbar das ikonographische Paradigma der Stunde." Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam,* 154.
[450] Roberto Cobianchi, "Fashioning the Imagery of a Franciscan Observant Preacher: Early Renaissance Portraiture of Bernardino da Siena in Northern Italy." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 12 (2009), 70.

category of court art, the portrait medal, into the idiom of a Franciscan cult object.[451] It shows Bernardino on the obverse side hooded and in left profile, his eyes downcast and holding a book under his sleeve-covered arm.[452] The inscription around the perimeter reads COEPIT FACERE ET POSTEA DOCERE ("began by doing and afterwards demonstrated"). The reverse of the medal shows the trigram of Christ surrounded by the words of the antiphon of the *Magnificat* associated with Bernardino's death: MANIFESTAVI NOMEN TUUM HOMINIBUS ("I have manifested your name to humanity").[453] While it is impossible to position the death mask as the definitive source for Marescotti's medal, the physiognomy certainly evokes some of the recognizable elderly features of Bernardino with his sunken cheeks and pointed nose and chin.[454] It is interesting, however, to note that just as had been the case in Siena where the cast death mask of Bernardino had become the model for painters, in northern Italy it was the casting of a portrait medal in bronze that had become the prototype to be emulated. As Cobianchi noted, the

[451] The bronze portrait medal as a permanent, pocket-sized portrait, was invented by Pisanello. For more on Pisanello's invention of the portrait medal see Stephen K. Scher ed., *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*. New York: Abrams, 1994; Luke Syson and Dillian Gordon eds., *Pisanello: Painter to the Renaissance Court*. London: National Gallery, 2001; and Christopher S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. It was also during the fifteenth century that a number of portrait medals showing Christ in profile were produced in Italy. Supposedly based upon a physical description of Christ found in the apocryphal Letter of Lentulus, the profile format and the replicable medium of these medals also appropriated the connotations of authority and authenticity associated with secular portrait medals. For more on the portrait medals of Christ see George Francis Hill, *The Medallic Portraits of Christ: the False Shekels, the Thirty Pieces of Silver.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. For the portrait medals of Christ appropriation of the secular portrait medal medium see Wood, "Forgery," in *Forgery, Replica, Fiction,* 155 – 156.
[452] Cobianchi, "Fashioning the Imagery of a Franciscan Observant Preacher," 70.
[453] The phrase is from John 17:6 and is also the opening lines of the *Magnificat*. According to the early biographies of the saint it was just as the friars were chanting the antiphon of the *Magnificat* during Vespers that Bernardino breathed his last: "spiritum commendans Domino, expiravit die 20 mensis Maii, circa 3 horam, dum in Ecclesia pro Vesperis cantabatur Antiphona ad *Magnificat*: Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi: nunc autem pro cis rogo, non pro mundo, quia ad te venio, Alleluja." Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xliii.
[454] Although at least one scholar claimed that the medal "appears to be based on a death mask." See J. Graham Pollard, *Medaglie italiane del Rinascimento nel Museo nazionale del Bargello.* Firenze: Associazione Amici del Bargello, 1984; 1985, vol. I, 80.

iconography from Marescotti's medal is repeated throughout a variety of media that originated in northern Italy (Figs. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149). In all of these images the hooded head is shown in left profile, Bernardino has a downward cast gaze, and the book is held in sleeve-covered arms as had occurred in Marescotti's bronze. Just as a medal could be reproduced in a virtually infinite number of exemplars, the drawings, paintings, and manuscript illuminations retain something of the character of serial objects.[455] In these drawn and painted images it would seem that repetition itself became an important quality for rendering the saint, just as the early paintings in Siena had also demonstrated an interest in emulating the imprinted prototype of the death mask.

Perhaps it is by pursuing this line of thinking that one might begin to make sense of a rather peculiar statement made by John of Capistrano in his biography of the saint. According to John's account, as Bernardino lay dying the best doctors were brought to the ailing friar's bedside but all their medicine was powerless over a body that "was melting like wax before a fire" [456] Such a statement was likely much more than a wistful reflection upon the ephemeral nature of the body. On one level this description participated in the late medieval tradition which held that an early sign of sainthood was the softening of the corpse.[457] This hagiographical topos is particularly relevant for Bernardino as an Observant Franciscan friar, for the phenomenon was also recorded upon the death of St. Francis of Assisi:

> His appearance was one of great beauty gleaming with a dazzling whiteness and giving joy to all who looked upon him. His limbs, which had been rigid, became marvelously

[455] Cobianchi, "Fashioning the Imagery of a Franciscan Observant Preacher," 80. Editions of Marescotti's medal still exist in numerous collections, including the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, the National Gallery in Washington D.C., and the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.
[456] "liquefiebat nihilominus sicut ad ignem defluit cera." Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xliii.
[457] See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 427.

> soft and pliable, so that they would be turned this way and that, like those of a young child.[458]

Yet we have seen that it was also understood that the soul could leave an impression on the body, an indexical trace upon the surface of the skin not unlike that which a stamp leaves in soft wax. This concept of the impressionability of the body was likewise significant for a member of the Order of the Friars Minor as the body of St. Francis had been literally imprinted with the wounds of Christ.[459] The stigmata were interpreted as visible evidence of Francis's *imitatio Christi*, a mystical imprinting of Christ-like character that was supernatural as well as physical, and the reported softening of Bernardino's corpse may be understood as proof of his *imitatio Francesco*.[460]

André Vauchez has described the late medieval development of the idea that a human being could identify with Christ through impressions left in the flesh. According to Vauchez, initially it was the faithful who accepted this innovation more readily than the majority of church

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[458] This description is found in the *Encyclical Letter* sent to all the Friars Minor by Brother Elias upon the death of their founder on 4 October 1226. See Elias of Cortona, "A Letter on the Passing of Saint Francis," in Regis Armstrong, J.A. Wayne Hellmann, and William Short eds., *Francis of Assisi: Early Documents*. New York, 1999 – 2001, vol. 2, 489 – 491.

[459] Arnold Davidson stressed the novelty of Francis' mysticism being expressed through transformations in his body which represents a radical shift from earlier, non-bodily forms of mystical experience. See Arnold I. Davidson, "Miracles of Bodily Transformation, or How St. Francis Received the Stigmata," in Françoise Meltzer and Jas Elsner eds. *Saints: Faith without Borders*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, 280.

[460] André Vauchez has described the stigmatization of St. Francis as such a mystical alteration: "…the flesh of the stigmatized was presented as the exterior manifestation of a mystical relationship between the human person and God and gave it an intelligibility in the order of the visible: the wounds of the hands, feet, and side being the proof of the transformative and assimilating power of love." See André Vauchez, "Medieval Interpretations of Francis: Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries," in *St. Francis of Assisi: the Life and Afterlife*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012, 222. Stephen Campbell has described *imitatio Christi* as a form of impression: "Saintly *imitatio Christi* was far more than just mimetic comportment according to an approved ideal of moral conduct: it was a form of mystical alteration, supernatural as well as physical. It was less an imitation than a transmission of Christ, an *imprinting* of Christ-like character." See Stephen J. Campbell, "Mantegna's Hagiography," in *Gifts in return: essays in honour of Charles Dempsey.* Melinda Wilcox Schlitt ed. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012, 95.

officials who were more inclined to see any form of 'divinization' of the human body as offensive to divine majesty.[461] Under the influence of the mendicants in particular, however, hagiography began to devote more attention to these signs left upon the surfaces of the body.[462] As Vauchez described it, "a new criterion of the authenticity of sainthood appeared: physiological similarity to the person of Christ, incontestable sign of the union of hearts and the effusion of the Spirit of God into his creature."[463]

In the case of Bernardino, the saint and his image had become a model to be repetitively copied. Even the inscription surrounding the saint's head on Marescotti's medal suggests the function of the saint as exemplar. For it proclaims that what Bernardino had begun to do in life, his image now demonstrated or taught. Despite the fact that drawing and painting were not the result of a printed process, the uniformity and seemingly ritual repetition seen in the northern Italian images evokes something of mass-produced objects. The use of a profile had also been a clear marker of numismatic aesthetics, the profile head of a ruler guaranteeing the value of a coin or medal. This may be evidence that artists were attempting to emulate what Urte Krass has described as the "magic of the impression,"[464] or the seemingly acheiropoietic and autopoietic quality of images created through a process of impression.[465]

A miracle described by both John of Capistrano and Barnabò da Siena in their biographies of Bernardino may shed further light upon these ideas of the saint as exemplar. We are told that one day while preaching before a large crowd gathered in L'Aquila a star appeared

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[461] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 440.
[462] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 440
[463] Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 442-443.
[464] "Zwei neue Medien des Quattrocento kommen hierbei zum Einsatz, die Medaille und die Druck graphic, die mit der "Magie des Abdrucks" die Distanznahme der Bilder vom Heiligenkörper unter Beibehaltung der Nähe zu diesem zu gewährleisten vermögen." Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam*, 12.
[465] "Vielmehr handelt es sich doch um einen posthuman Akt von Autopoiesis: Der Heilige hat sich gewissermaßen selbst in der feuchten Gipsmasse abgebildet." Krass, *Nah zum Leichnam*, 11.

next to Bernardino's face.[466] Stupefied by the splendor of this apparition, the gathered secular leaders declared it to be a sign from heaven.[467] John of Capistrano's account describes what happened next:

> And they saw the star opposite the face of St. Bernardino as a heavenly voice revealed the radiant face of the saint: "listen to him, follow him, and faithfully imitate him." As the star opposite the face of St. Bernardino disappeared from the eyes of the beholders, a great image appeared in heaven in the form of the Mother of our Lord, shining with a splendor that was exceedingly bright, indicating that this holy man, most acceptable to God, principal worshiper of the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, the model of religion, and singular vessel of all the virtues, the mirror of salvation, and the same city of L'Aquila would benefit from the rewards and exaltations of heaven.[468]

For John of Capistrano, the apparition of the star was a public declaration of Bernardino's saintliness. Barnabò da Siena's version of the miracle similarly stressed that the event provided visual evidence of the sanctity of Bernardino:

> And all the princes of the kingdom and the plebs were present when a most evident and manifest sign appeared. It was during the day when the sun was at its brightest that a bright star appeared, stupefying the king and all present with amazement. And it was before his face opposite him, and truly it descended through the purest air coming down near to him, then to the surprise of us all it disappeared. This was a most evident sign that

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[466] "Quum itaque S. Bernardinus in ejusdem glorisae Virginis Ecclesiae platea laudes Virginis exaltaret assidue cum fervor, quia in themate continetur: et in capite ejus corona stellarum 12. Intelligens pro 12. Singularissimus praerogativis virtutum, gratiarum, & meritorum Virginis benedictae; primam stellam nobilitatem individuae Virginis benedictae considerans, quum hora esset quasi sexta diei, vel inter tertiam, & sextam, ecce statim, sole servescente in altissimis, Dei stella lucidissima super caput qjus apparuit, & tanto splendore, quod sulgor ipsius solis radios videbatur excellere." Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xli.

[467] "quam omnes simul qui aderant cum Duce praesato, hoc magno signo caelitus demonstrato, attoniti stupidique manserunt." Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xli.

[468] "Videruntque stellam ipsam contra faciem S. Bernardini oppositam; tanquam si vox coelestis indiceret, vultum ejusdem sancti irradians; hunc audite, hunc sequimini, huiusque imitators estote fideles. Sicque stella discurrens ante faciem S. Bernardini, ab oculis intuentium non mediocri admiratione disparuit: signum ergo magnum apparuit in coelo Matrem Domini nostri nimia claritate praefulgidam, hunc sanctum virum Deo acceptissimum, Matrisque Domini nostri Jesu Christi cultorem praecipuum, religionis exemplar, & omnium virtutum singularissimum vas, & speculum salutare, e vicino in cadem civitate Aquilae extremum vitae praesentis dium clausurum beneficiis, & praemiis coelestibus exaltandum." Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xli. The translation is mine.

> the mother of our Lord, by shining rays of brightness, wanted to demonstrate to all that were present the visible religiosity and highest piety of this man.[469]

A woodcut from the reverse side of the title page of an edition of the saint's sermons printed in Nuremberg in 1493 visualizes this miracle (Fig. 150).[470] Attributed to Michael Wolgemut, the print shows Bernardino standing in his pulpit pointing to a star above his head, a similar star also appearing upon his own halo.[471] A text scroll identifies the subject of the sermon being preached as that of Mary as *Stella Maris* (Star of the Sea).[472] Set before Bernardino is a radiant image of the Virgin, which according to the biographical accounts had materialized following the apparition of the star.[473] This woodcut demonstrates the widespread popularity of the miracle at L'Aquila, having been transmitted over the Alps by the late fifteenth century.

While it has gone entirely unnoticed in the existing scholarship, the descriptions of this miracle almost certainly account for the strange hovering status of the golden-rayed trigram set opposite the face of Bernardino in the early images of the saint, such as the Osservanza panel by

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[469] "omnisque plebs ac primates Principes regni adessent, evidentissimo ac manifestissimo signo apparuit. Stella enim in ascensu solis die illustri refulsit: quam omnes simul cum Rege videntes, attoniti stupidique mansere. Erat autem contra faciem suam opposita, quæ sane per purissimum aërem descendens, prope se, mirantibus cunctis, evanuit. Signum hoc evidentissimum fuit, quod Mater Domini nostri, tanta claritate radiorum refulgens, hunc virum, religione insignem, pietateque præcipuum, omnibus præsentibus demonstrare voluit." Bernabaeus Senensis, "Vita I Antiquior," 280. The translation is mine.

[470] Bernardino of Siena, *Sermones Sancti Bernhardini Ordinis Minoru[m] De Festiuitatibus Virginis Gloriose Per Annu[m] Cu[m] Singularissimis Laudibus Eiusde[m]*. Impressum Nür[e]mberge: cura et impensis prouidi viri Friderici Kreüsner, 1493.

[471] On the attribution to Wolgemut, see Campbell Dodgson, "Some Rare Woodcuts by Wolgemut." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 4.12 (1904), 251.

[472] John of Capistrano had stated that Bernardino had been preaching on the "twelve stars of Mary's crown" when the star appeared. See Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xli. Bernardino had a special devotion to Mary as *stella maris*, and posited the term "*maris*" as the etymological origin of Mary's name. In his sermons he expounded upon the celestial imagery as a means to express his conception of the Virgin as the sole intermediary of divine grace for humanity. See Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari*. Piero Bargellini ed. Milano: Rizzoli, 1936, 633.

[473] The preface of the Nuremberg text that immediately follows this woodcut refers specifically to the miracle at L'Aquila, noting that Bernardino had been preaching upon the twelve stars of Mary's crown when a brilliant star was seen flashing from the saint's own head by René of Anjou, king of Naples, as well as thousands of gathered faithful. See Dodgson, "Some Rare Woodcuts by Wolgemut," 251.

Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio.[474] In the past the presence of the YHS in these images has often been interpreted in relation to Bernardino's practice of raising a gilded and ultramarine tablet, or *tavoletta,* emblazoned with the trigram of the Holy Name at the end of his sermons, an act evoked by a painting by a follower of Sassetta (Fig. 151).[475] A surviving *tavoletta* is kept as a relic of the saint in the church of San Francesco at Prato (Fig. 152). Most have seen the trigram as little more than an attribute of the saint, "just as Peter was associated with the keys or Catherine of Alexandria with the wheel."[476] Yet it is not entirely clear that the radiant image of the YHS in the Osservanza panel is meant to evoke a physical object at all, and there is some ambivalence over whether Bernardino is even holding it between his thumb and forefinger.[477] The biographical accounts of the miracle emphasized that the star appeared *contra faciem*, meaning against his face, or face to face as it were. In the Osservanza panel the sun-like trigram is shown in just this manner, hovering next to Bernardino's head.[478] This proximity generates a

[474] The written accounts of the miracle and the propagation of the iconography of the glowing star set opposite the face of Bernardino of Siena corresponds to a topos in late medieval hagiography, whereby sainthood was manifested by luminous phenomena. As described by André Vauchez, these became "essential attributes of sainthood," so that saints were thought to be "creatures of light." See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages,* 435-436.

[475] The painting is currently located in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Siena. Bernardino himself had designed the *tavoletta* with its visualized form of the name of Christ. See V. Pacelli, "Iconografia," in *Enciclopedia bernardiniana.* M.A. Pavone and V. Pacelli eds. L'Aquila: Centro promotore generale delle celebrazioni del VI centenario della nascita di s. Bernardino da Siena, vol. II, 1980, 185-188.

[476] Polecritti, *Preaching peace in Renaissance* Italy, 72.

[477] Daniel Arasse, for example, had seen the trigram discs that appear in some of the early Bernardino images as the "immaterial symbol" of the tablet carrying the trigram of the name of Christ: "On trouve en particulier très vite l'image du saint qui tient de la main gauche un livre ouvert avec le texte qui lui est propre, tandis que la main droite indique ou soutient le symbole apparemment 'immatériel' de la tablette: un disque lumineux entouré de rayons d'or à l'intérieur duquel sont inscrites les trois lettres gothiques du Nom de Jésus." Arasse, "Iconographie et evolution spirituelle; la tablette de St. Bernardin de Sienne," 436.

[478] An analogous motif to the hovering trigram also appears in Sienese representations of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, who had reportedly also experienced miraculous apparitions of a star. A polyptych painted by Giovanni di Paolo in 1454, now located in the Metropolitan Museum, New York shows Nicholas with a posture and hand gesture that recalls the images of Bernardino from the 1440s. Hovering opposite the face of Nicholas there also appears a radiant disc; only in place of the trigram there appears the face of a cherub. In the iconographical tradition of Nicholas of Tolentino, this motif referred to a star that was

space filled with tension between the radiant face of the saint and the shimmering trigram. The effort to physically link the face of Bernardino as closely as possible to the Holy Name suggests that something imminent is about to happen, such as the joining, or masking, of Bernardino's visage with the YHS. Indeed, this close association is made even more explicit in Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's 1448 painting of the saint, currently located in the Museo Civico of Lucignano and originally painted for the church of San Francesco (Fig. 153). In this picture the rays emanating from the trigram formally echo the thin, golden rays that radiate from Bernardino's head. The two circular forms are brought so close together that the roundel of the Holy Name overlaps the rays of light emitted by Bernardino's face, the tooling of both haloes further accentuating a close alliance between these two features.

A small tempera panel painted by Girolamo di Benvenuto ca. 1510 provides further evidence that the hovering status of the trigram depended upon the biographical accounts of the miracle at L'Aquila (Fig. 154).[479] Here Bernardino is shown with his recognizably elderly and

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reported to have miraculously appeared at the door of the saint's cell several times near the end of his life, a miracle that clearly paralleled the one described in biographies of Bernardino. Carl Brandon Strehlke has suggested that the iconographic formula for Sienese representations of Nicholas of Tolentino at this time were taken from those that had been "recently coined for Bernardino." He also suggested that the star motif in representations of Nicholas of Tolentino refers to legends of a miraculous star that followed Nicholas from his hometown of Castel Sant'Angelo in Romagna to Tolentino. See Carl Brandon Strehlke, *Italian Paintings, 1250-1450, in the John G. Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, in association with the Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, 178. It is interesting to note that even the gaunt features that Giovanni di Paolo has given to Nicholas of Tolentino in this painting recall the familiar visage of Bernardino. Roberto Cobianchi briefly describes the miraculous apparitions of the star to Nicholas. See Roberto Cobianchi, "Raphael, Ceremonial Banners and Devotional Prints: New Light on Citta di Castello's Nicholas of Tolentino Altarpiece," in Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop eds., *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate,* 2007, 210.

[479] This panel is currently located in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest and originally formed part of a predella from an altarpiece, of which three other fragments have been identified in a private collection. See Dóra Sallay, *Early Sienese Paintings in Hungarian Collections, 1420-1520.* PhD Dissertation, Central European University. Budapest: CEU & TD Collection, 2008, 366. The original provenance of the panel is unknown, although Sallay argues that it may have come from the large *Assumption of the Virgin* panel, located in the Museo Civico e Diocesano d'Arte Sacra in Montalcino, based on similarities in style and iconography, and that the dimensions of the predella panels are in line with the Montalcino

gaunt physiognomy kneeling in the foreground of a landscape filled with rocky outcroppings and distant hills, the towers of a city set in a valley appearing in the background. At the left of the panel an image of the Virgin has appeared in the sky supported by five red winged cherubim and emanating golden rays. Suspended in the air between Bernardino and Mary is once again a golden star containing the YHS. In 2008, Dóra Sallay remarked on the rarity of the iconography of this panel, noting that not a single example of this scene "is recorded in the vast bibliography on San Bernardino's iconography," and that the panel "has not yet been brought into connection with any written source," nor was it known "whether a specific event is depicted."[480] Yet all of the elements of this picture are in line with accounts of the miraculous apparition of the star and Mary as described in the early biographies. The trigram has appeared, like a star, set opposite Bernardino's face. The image of the Virgin surrounded by golden rays of light certainly qualifies for an apparition of the splendid Madonna as described in John of Capistrano's account of the event. In fact, the manner in which the artist shifted his palette in the rendering of the figures of the Virgin and Bernardino evokes John's description of the Virgin as materializing in the form of a *signum*, which may be translated as image, picture, engraving, or sculpture. The difference in scale between the figures, the lightening of the palette in the pale features of Mary, and the interest in creating sculptural forms in the Virgin's drapery all make her appear as a statue floating in the sky. It is as if Bernardino were praying before a devotional image.[481] That the

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panel. On this basis Sallay ascribes a date of ca. 1510. See Sallay, *Early Sienese Paintings in Hungarian Collections, 1420*-1520, 368.

[480] Sallay argued that the iconography could be connected to the series of prayers known as the *corona francescana*, which Bernardino is known to have practiced. Sallay, *Early Sienese Paintings in Hungarian Collections, 1420*-1520, 365 – 366.

[481] Jacqueline Jung has noted the late medieval tendency for artists to depict visionary apparitions as sculptures hovering in space, arguing that, "beyond iconography, the shapes and materials in which images present themselves deeply affects the way people absorb and respond to them." See Jacqueline E. Jung, "Tactile and the Visionary: Notes on the Place of Sculpture in the Medieval Religious Imagination,"

composition of this image bears a number of parallels to the traditional iconography employed for the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, which shows a kneeling Francis set in a rocky landscape opposite a flying apparition of Christ, is not a mere coincidence (Fig. 155). For the biographical accounts of the miracle at L'Aquila carry the verve of a moment of spiritual and bodily transformation that paralleled that of St. Francis receiving the stigmata.

The early biographies of Bernardino portrayed the apparition of the star as a visible sign of the saint's exemplarity. In John of Capistrano's account, the star acted in conjunction with the heavenly voice, not only to proclaim or indicate the radiant face of the saint, but also to admonish the faithful to listen to him, *hunc audite*, to follow *this* man, *hunc sequimini*, and to be faithful imitators or followers of Bernardino, *huiusque imitators estote fideles*. As the star disappeared and was replaced by the image of the Virgin, the exemplarity of Bernardino is stressed even further. He was *religionis exemplar,* the model of religion, *omnium virtutum singularissimum vas*, the singular vessel of virtues, and *speculum salutare*, the mirror of salvation. Barnabò da Siena had also interpreted this miraculous apparition as a sign of Bernardino's exemplarity, twice referring to it as a *most evident sign.*[482] If the star was a most evident sign of Bernardino's sanctioning by God, then it is quite understandable that visual artists would have wanted to include a reference to this miracle. Just as the biographies had closely associated the star with Bernardino's face, so too, the early images bring the trigram in close proximity to his visage, as if to repeat the function of the star as the seal of approval of Bernardino's favor with God.

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in *Looking Beyond: Visions, Dreams, and Insights in Medieval Art & History*. Colum Hourihane ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010, p. 213.

[482] Barnabò used the words "*evidentissimo"* and *"*evidentissimum," which are the superlative form of "evidens," and indicates something that is clear or obvious to the understanding. Its usage in this context indicates that the apparition of the star provided powerful evidence of Bernardino's sanctity. See "evidens" *Oxford Latin Dictionary,* vol. I, 687.

Eucharistic semiotics and the image as "*figurale di grazia*"

To date the *tavolette* have received scant scholarly attention from an art historical point of view. Traditional approaches to the study of Bernardino's use of the *tavoletta* have tended to focus on the function of the trigram as a symbolic substitution for partisan emblems.[483] Feuds and factionalism periodically disrupted civic peace in cities throughout the Italian peninsula and Bernardino is said to have designed the trigram as a means to unite competing factions under one insignia.[484]

The need for civic pacification was especially urgent in Siena. Each political subdivision in Sienese society, from the *terzi* to the *contrade*, *popoli* and *lire*, employed a *stemma* that indicated a particular allegiance. In 1424 the fragile peace that had stabilized relations between competing factions for nearly twenty years was in danger of unraveling. A member of the *Monte dei Nove*, Cristoforo di Jacopo Griffoli, was caught working for the readmission of the *Monte dei Dodici* to the halls of power. The *Dodici* had been excluded from holding governmental positions ever since the establishment of the coalitional republican regime in 1404, thus the move threatened to disrupt the status quo. For his role in the plot Cristoforo was executed, an act

[483] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: San Bernardino of Siena and His Audience*, 7.
[484] Bernardino had begun to preach on the Holy Name of Jesus ca. 1410. It is likely that Bernardino had taken his inspiration to preach the name of Jesus from Gilbert of Tournai and from the *Arbor Vitae* of Ubertino of Casale. See John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517*. Chicago, Ill.: Franciscan Herald Press, 1968; 1988, 463-464. For more on Bernardino's peacemaking efforts, see Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena & His Audience*. For a description of Bernardino's creation and promotion of the *tavoletta*, see Gaudenzio Melani, O.F.M., "San Bernardino e il nome di Gesù," in *S. Bernardino da Seina, saggi e ricerche pubblicati nel Quinto centenario della morte (1444 – 1944).* Milano: Società editrice "Vita e pensiero," 1945, 278; Pacelli, "Iconografia," 185-188; Daniel Arasse, "Iconographie et evolution spirituelle; la tablette de St. Bernardin de Sienne," 433-456; and Laura Teza, "Una nuova storia per le tavolette di San Bernardino," in L. Teza and M. Santanicchia eds., *Pietro Vannucci il Perugino. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, 25 – 28 Ottobre 2000*. Perugia: Volumnia, 2004, 247 - 305. Pascale Rihouet has discussed the *tavolette* as a unifying emblem in an Umbrian context. See Pascale Rihouet, "The Unifying power of Bernardinian Images," in *The Unifying Power of Moving Pictures in Late Medieval and Renaissance Umbria.* PhD Dissertation, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 2008, 236 – 269.

justified through the claim that "it was necessary for the preservation of our state and the present republican (*popularis*) regime."[485] Fearing further unrest, civic officials requested that Bernardino assist in calming the simmering situation by performing a peacemaking cycle of sermons. Each day from April until June of 1425 the preacher climbed into a wooden pulpit that had been constructed in front of the Palazzo Pubblico and spoke upon the urgent need to renounce partisan divisions in favor of civic unity.[486] During this period Bernardino coaxed the population of Siena into igniting bonfires in which party banners and ensigns were burned.[487] At the climax of his sermons Bernardino would raise his *tavoletta* with its gilded trigram, its revelation inciting the gathered crowds to wild displays of piety.[488]

While it is clear that Bernardino hoped that the Holy Name of Jesus would transform the faithful by uniting all of Christendom, his conception of how it would do so went far beyond the level of symbolism. By assuming that the trigram was little more than an iconographical attribute of the saint, a reference to Bernardino's *tavoletta* and his promotion of the Holy Name as a pacifying emblem, scholars have completely ignored alternative possible contexts for the motif. For there were other objects produced at this time that were round and stamped with the trigram of Christ. I am referring, of course, to the production of Eucharistic hosts. Hosts were made by pouring a prepared mixture of wheat and water into a host press that would be heated over a fire.

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[485] "Facta narratione super tumultu heri in executione iustitie Cristofori, necesse est providere circa bonum remanere nostre civitatis et conservationem presentis regiminis popularis." Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), *Concistoro* 365, c. 28v, as cited in Petra Pertici, *Tra Politica e Cultura Nel Primo Quattrocento* Senese, 17. The translation is mine.

[486] These sermons are recorded in Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari [di] San Bernardino da Siena: Predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Firenze: Tipografia E. Rinaldi, 1958. Vols I and II. For more on these sermons see Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy,* 1988 and 2000.

[487] In addition to party emblems, the bonfires included sorcerer's books and incantations, gambling paraphernalia, wigs and artificial tresses for women, and statues and pictures considered erotic. See McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena," 40.

[488] Polecritti noted that the crowd would erupt into tears and shouts upon the display of the *tavoletta*. See Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy*, 2000, 73.

The presses would not only form the paste into a round wafer, but usually left an indexical impression upon its surface. According to Aden Kumler, who has studied the morphology of host presses in detail, the most common motifs for host wafers were the sacred trigram of Christ's name, or other liturgical set phrases.[489] A fourteenth-century Spanish host press contains two circular impressions for the production of wafers that are engraved with trigrams (Fig. 156). The volutes, stars and crosses of this press are not far removed from the spirals and starburst patterns that decorate the trigram in Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's painting of *Bernardino* at Lucignano (Fig. 153). The dimpling surrounding the circular impressions of the host press also recalls the tooling that encircles the trigram on Pietro's panel. Indeed, the gesture of the saint's hand in this image, seemingly holding the roundel gingerly between index and middle fingers, suggests that in this painting the trigram is meant to represent a thin, wafer-like object, not much thicker than the gold leaf of which it is made. Here the overlapping of Bernardino's middle finger by the golden, shimmering roundel affirms a sense of objecthood for the trigram within the constructed space of the painting. By the middle of the fifteenth century Italian host presses had adopted the style of trigram seen on the Bernardine *tavolette*, with the familiar gothic script and crossed "h." This may be seen in an Umbrian host press that is currently held in the collection of the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia (Fig. 157).

Just as the repetition of Bernardino's features had been a marker of the early portraits, the Eucharistic host maintained uniformity through its serial production. As noted by Kumler, the use of the host press resulted in wafers that were equally flat, white, and round, and, once consecrated, were understood to contain all of the body of Christ in each of their repetitious

[489] Aden Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic morphology in the Middle Ages." *Res* 59 (2011), 185.

forms.[490] It is therefore likely much more than a coincidence that the reverse side of Marescotti's medal also closely resembles a host wafer, with the circular YHS trigram surrounded by the Eucharistically charged words proclaiming "I have manifested your name to humanity."[491] Indeed, both host wafer and the portrait medal are products of similar processes, that is, both are the result of the "magic of the impression." And just as Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's paintings closely associated the trigram with Bernardino's head, Marescotti's medal literally brings Bernardino's facial features to within close proximity of the sacred trigram. For Bernardino appears *underneath* the trigram, on the obverse side of the medal. A second portrait medal struck around 1444 by an anonymous artist bears even stronger affinities with host wafers, and once again there appears the dimpled border (Fig. 158).[492]

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[490] Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species," 184. A formal similarity with Eucharistic wafers extended to other media as well, and Kumler notes the formal resemblance between the Eucharistic host and coinage at this time. Citing the twelfth-century writings of Honorius Augustodunensis, Kumler described how the symbolic appropriateness of the Eucharistic host being offered in the form of a coin was justified through a series of exegetical maneuvers. Honorius argued that the host was "formed in the manner of a coin [denarii] because Christ, the living bread, was sold for the price of coins and he himself is the true coin, which according to the Decalogue of the law shall be given as a reward to those laboring in the vineyard." See Honorius Augustodunensis, *Eucharistion*, Patrologia cursus completus: Series latina, J.P. Migne ed. Paris: 1844-1865, vol. 172, cols. 1256C-D, as cited in Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species," 188. Most significantly, perhaps, Honorius had justified the pressing (*exprimitur*) of "the image of the Lord…together with letters," into the Host because "the image and name of the emperor is written on the coin and through this bread the image of God is restored in us." (Ideo imago Domini cum letteris in hoc pane exprimitur, quia et in denarii imago et nomen imperatoris scribitur, et per hunc panem imago Dei in nobis reparatur, et nomen nostrum in libro vitae notatur). See Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, Patrologia cursus completus: Series latina, J.P. Migne ed. Paris: 1844-1865, vol. 172, col. 555B, as cited in Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species," 188.

[491] The phrase is from John 17:6 and is traditionally cited in the biographies as the opening lines of the *Magnificat* that were being sung by the monks at San Francesco in L'Aquila as Bernardino died. Yet Christ was also the Incarnate Word and the consecrated Host manifested Christ's body, suggesting a broader significance to the inscription.

[492] This feature of a dimpled border was also common to coinage. In a recent essay discussing the morphological symmetry of coinage and Eucharistic hosts during the medieval period, Roger Reynolds described the function of the dimpled border as a way to circumscribe representational and exchange value: "It is said that the dotted border of coins, ancient and medieval, was the outer edge of value – in other words, the dots on Carolingian coins fix the value. If compromised…the coin still had some metal value but no representational or exchange value." See Roger E. Reynolds, "Christ's Money: Eucharistic Azyme Hosts in the Ninth Century According to Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain: Observations on the Origin, Meaning, and Context of a Mysterious Revelation." *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and*

Given his association of the Eucharist with the Holy Name of Jesus, it is not unreasonable to assume that in creating his *tavoletta* Bernardino may have turned to the familiar and ever-present trigrams found imprinted upon host wafers. Here it interesting to note that the gesticulation seen in the Osservanza panel, where Bernardino brings the thumb and forefinger of his right hand together, corresponds to one used during the mass in the later Middle Ages (Fig. 139).[493] Known as the *iunctio digitis*, the gesture was prescribed for the priest as he held the Eucharistic host at the moment of consecration: "He holds his host only with his thumbs and index fingers, saying, 'For this is my body.' Having said this, the celebrant holds the host between his thumbs and index fingers above the altar, with the rest of the hand's fingers extended and the two joined together…"[494] In the Osservanza panel this hand gesture makes the connection between the sun disc and the Eucharistic host visually explicit. That host wafers may have inspired the trigram is also suggested by Bernardino's own Eucharistic-inflected semiotics. We see evidence of this kind of thinking in one of the preacher's sermons, in which he deliberated upon God's presence within the very letters of the sacred word:

Architecture, 4.2, (2013), 19. The dimpled border acted as a means to authenticate and guarantee the exchange value of a coin, and coins in which the dimpled border had been tampered with or breached through deterioration had their representational and exchange value obliterated. Describing the similar dimpling found on medieval Eucharistic hosts, Reynolds argued that the dotted border on host wafers performed a similar function to that found in secular coinage, the dimpling delimited and circumscribed their "eternal worth and value." See Reynolds, 21. The dimpled edge of the trigram found in the early paintings and portrait medals of Bernardino may have performed a similar, authenticating function that "guaranteed" the sacred value of the image.

[493] I thank the anonymous reader for *RES* for drawing my attention to the significance of this gesture. For more on the origins of the *iunctio digitis* in the mass see J. A. Jungman, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development*. New York, 1955, vol. 2, 205, as cited in Jeffrey Hamburger, "Bosch's "Conjuror": an Attack on Magic and Sacramental Heresy." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 14.1 (1984), 17, n. 63.

[494] This account is from the *Ordo missae* written in 1502 by Johann Burchard (died 1506), bishop of Orta and Città Castellana and pontifical master of ceremonies to five popes. See J.W. Legg ed., *Tracts on the Mass*. London, 1904, xxv-xxviii and 156: "et hostiam suam tantum pollicibus et indicibus tenet dicens: 'Hoc est enim corpus meum." His dictis celebrans hostiam inter polices et indices super altare tenens: reliquis manuum digitis extensis ac binis et binis simul iunctis." The English translation is from Hamburger, "Bosch's "Conjuror": an Attack on Magic and Sacramental Heresy," 17 – 18.

> The words that you pronounce, chew them, taste them well, so that you relish them and say them one by one, like the drunkard who drinks his wine little by little, relishing it. Learn that there is not a word of God, or of the Holy Scriptures, or of the psalms that does not have all of God imprisoned within it. In every word—when you say Father—all of God is there, and in every word there is Jesus Christ, and all the facts of God and of Christ and of Jesus. Savor it well, and remember that within it is the entire life of Jesus, from his birth into this world until his death and ascension. If you roll it over your tongue you will experience every delight in tasting it, but if you swallow hastily you will taste nothing, and you will not have a drop of pleasure.[495]

Lina Bolzoni has suggested that in this passage Bernardino was "proposing a model of creative hermeneutics capable of releasing God, who lies imprisoned within the outlines of the letter, and of mentally recovering the untold treasures that lie hidden in every word."[496] Yet this reading of the passage seems to have entirely missed a more pressing facet of Bernardino's sermon, and that is its Eucharistic dimensions. The chewing of the words, the comparison to sipping them like wine, all echo actions that took place during communion when the wafer and wine were consumed by the faithful. Bernardino wished for his followers to taste the words, to dissolve the letters in which God was 'imprisoned' and absorb the divine into their body through acts of mastication that paralleled the digestion of the host. The very articulation of speech, the sounding out of vowels and consonants, if properly 'savored,' could release God *into* the body of a worshiper. It is a sort of absorptive and bodily semiotics in which Bernardino's physiological conception of the sign allowed the faithful to ingest it into their bodies, leaving a physical

[495] "La parola, che tu di', che tu t'ingegni di rogumarla, masticarla, saporarla bene, che l'assapori, e che si dica a parola a parola, come el briaco che si mangia el vino a poco a poco, assaporandolo. Impara che non è parola di Dio, o di scrittura santa, o di salmi che non vi sia Iddio tutto quanto imprigionato. In ogni parola, quando dirai Pater, evvi tutto Iddio, e in ogni parola è Cristo Gesù, e tutt' i fatti di Dio e di Cristo e di Gesù. Assaporala bene e consideravi drento tutta la vita di Gesù, del suo nascere al mondo insino alla morte e assensione. Se lo mastichi bene ti saperà di ogni soavità di sapore, ma se lo ingoi non ti saperà di nulla, e non aria piacere niuno." Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari [Di] San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425*. Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934. Vol. II, 464-465. The English translation of this passage appears in Bolzoni, *The web of images*, 168.

[496] See Bolzoni, *The web of images*, 168.

impression that transformed the body through the delight that resulted from a partaking of the divine.[497]

Indeed, on another occasion Bernardino had described images precisely as things capable of leaving a physical impression upon the body:

> There are three kinds of writing: one mental, one verbal, and one that is *figural of grace*. One of the heart, one of speech, and one an exemplar…The best writing of the name of Jesus is that of the heart, then the word, then the exemplar, *in painting or relief*, seen with corporeal sight often, and which will reveal to the mental eye within, and name it often with reverence, for love, for faith and to place in the habit in a form so that always, in every event, Jesus, Jesus is tilled in heart and tongue. Just as the holy bishop Ignatius, who was martyred for the love of Jesus, had in every blow that was given loudly called out 'Jesus,' and nothing ever came out of his mouth but the name Jesus. It was why when he had died, marvelous for all his endurance, they opened him and upon his heart was written in letters of gold the name 'Jesus.' They took his heart, and on each side was written 'Jesus' in all quarters, and similarly, on every little bit, in every little part was the name of Jesus, to give the understanding that he had love and affection in his heart and in his words. This name of Jesus is letter by letter holy. Put it on, whether written or figured, and nothing bad can happen to you.[498]

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[497] Bernardino's physiological conception of the sign is also evident in his attitude towards preaching as a vehicle for religious transformation. As Carolyn Muessig notes: "Bernardino da Siena's conception of how and why sermons had great potential to transform individuals into dedicated Christians is dependent on his perception that the soul had a sort of physiology that was involved in the development of belief. Accordingly, the uttered word would travel from the mouth of the preacher and when the person heard the word of God it entered through the ear, and if believed, it would then enter into the heart." See Carolyn Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation," in James Mixson and Bert Roest eds., *A Companion to Observant Reform in the Late Middle Ages and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2015, 197.

[498] "Tre sono le scrittura: una mentale, una verbale, una figurale di grazia. Una nel cuore, una nella parola, e una nello esempro…La migliore iscrittura del nome di Gesù si è quella del cuore, poi quella delle parole, poi è l'esemplare, dipinto o rilevato, veggendolo spesso coll'occhio corporale, el mostrerai all'occhio mentale di dentro, e spesso el nominerai per riverenza, per amore, per fede e pigliera' lo in abito, in forma che sempre, in ogni avvenimento, Gesù, Gesù arai in cuore e in lingua, come fu santo Ignazio vescovo, ch'essendo per l'amore di Gesù martirizzato, a ogni colpo che gli era dato, diceva forte Gesù e mai di bocca altro non gli usciva se non Gesù. Il perchè, quando l'ebbono morto, maravigliandosi di tanta pazienza, lo spararono e, preso el cuore, era iscritto a lettere d'oro Gesù. Partirono el cuore per lo mezzo, e da ogni lato era iscritto Gesù per quadro; e simile, quanti minuzzoli ne facevano, in ogni particina era il nome di Gesù, a dare a intendere che l'aveva per l'amore nel cuore, e nelle parole, e nell'affetto. Questo nome di Gesù è el brieve de brievi santo. Portatelo adosso, o scritto o figurato, e non potrai capitar male." Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari [di] San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425,* Vol. II, 208-209. The italics and translation are mine.

In this passage Bernardino emphasized the reproductive quality of the sign, its ability to multiply throughout the surfaces of the body by repeated incantations of the name of Christ. The heart of the martyr was miraculously engraved on all sides and in every little part with the golden name of Jesus, all through a repetitive recitation of the sign in speech and thought. Indeed, this whole process was itself repeated in an account of the holy autopsy of Bernardino's corpse, during which his heart is said to have similarly revealed an image of "the good Jesus," which had been impressed upon the heart because Bernardino had "never spoken of anything else."[499] Repetition became a way to purify body and soul, to appropriate and assimilate the sanctifying power of the sign into the fabric of one's material and spiritual existence.

During one of Bernardino's sermons on the stigmatization of Francis the preacher stressed the necessity of seeing images of the Holy Name in order for his listeners to be reformed. He compared the transformational effects of looking at the YHS to the spiritual and bodily alteration of Francis that resulted through his having seen the image of the cross.[500] As Carolyn Muessig has noted, Bernardino's conception of the transformational potential of the image suggests the preacher's awareness of the optical theories found in the *Tractatus moralis de oculo* by Peter of Limoges, a text that was held in the library of the Franciscans at San Francesco

[499] This account comes from a late sixteenth-century description of the autopsy of Bernardino by the physician Antonio Porto, who used the precedent as a justification for his decision to open the heart of Filippo Neri. See Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian eds. *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri nel Codice Vaticano Latino 3798 e in altri esemplari dell'Archivio dell'Oratorio di Roma.* Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957, vol. 2, 227, as cited in Katherine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection.* New York: Zone Books, 2006, 180. The story appears to have been apocryphal. As Park states, although Bernardino was embalmed, there is no evidence that "his viscera were ever inspected, let alone that anything unusual was found in his heart." See Park, *Secrets of Women*, 180.

[500] "E perché santo Francesco si transformò tanto in lui, non una croce faceva, no, ma tre croci, dimostrando l'ardore inverso l'amator suo. E hai veduto ardore transformante ne la sua volontà." Bernardino of Siena, "Predica XXXII" in Carlo Delcorno ed. *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena, 1427*, Milan: Rusconi, 1989, vol. 2, 919 – 920.

in Siena.[501] The *Tractatus* provided demonstrations of how vision could be reformed to train the will to seek out God rather than earthly pleasures, a pedagogical ethos that resonated with the biblical quotation found on the open book held by Bernardino in the Osservanza panel which asks the beholder to "Mind the things that are above, not the things that are upon the earth."[502] Physical images of the YHS were *figurale di grazia*, that is to say they were "figural" of grace in the broader, exegetical sense of the term.[503] The figural value of pictorial signs for Bernardino went far beyond the notion of their being "figurative," in the sense of being capable of representing bodies on a two-dimensional surface. Rather, it lay beyond any visible aspect, as Thomas of Celano in his biography of St. Francis described the *signa* of the stigmata as drawing one towards love of the invisible things of God contained within.[504] Grace was not to be represented visibly, but it could be contained within the indexical traces of the visual and

[501] Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation," 195 – 196. A catalog produced in 1481 lists the *Tractatus de moralis de oculo* amongst the collection of the library of the Franciscans in Siena. For a complete list of the library's contents see Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth* Century, 50 - 165.
[502] "quae sursum sunt sapite non quae supra terram." The passage is from Colossians 3:2. On the ideas of the reforming potential of vision found in the *Tractatus* see Richard Newhauser, "Introduction," in Peter of Limoges, *The Moral Treatise on the Eye*, Richard Newhauser trans. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012, xi – xxxiii, as cited in Muessig, "Bernardino da Siena and Observant Preaching as a Vehicle for Religious Transformation," 187, n. 10.
[503] As Georges Didi-Huberman noted, "figures" were not valued "for what they represent visibly, but for what they show visually, beyond their aspect, as indexes of the mystery." Georges Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance & Figuration.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, 6 - 7.
[504] "Gloria et benedictio soli sapienti deo qui innovat signa et mutat mirabilia ut infirmorum mentes novis revelationibus consoletur et ut per visibilium mirabile opus ipsorum corda in amore invisibilium rapiantur!" See Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima Sancti Francisci*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2010, pars 2, par. 114, linea 1-17.

material *signum* of the trigram.[505] Through repetitive exposure to such *signa*, the body could absorb the grace infused image into its flesh.[506]

A bodily approach to the Eucharist was one thing. To suggest that all *signa* of the Holy Name, whether mental, verbal or materially produced, could possess the power to transform the body bordered on idolatry. One should therefore not be surprised by the fact that accusations of idolatry had dogged Bernardino throughout the 1420s for his display of the YHS trigram, culminating in charges of heresy in 1426 and 1431.[507] Although he had on both occasions been cleared of the charge by the pope, some of his contemporaries such as the Augustinian humanist Andrea Biglia had been disturbed by the wild response of the crowd to Bernardino's revelation of the *tavoletta* at the climax of his sermons.[508] The fervor whipped up by Bernardino's climactic spectacle was not unlike the "elevation mania" of late medieval piety where Mass attendees

[505] While a thorough exploration of the subject of divine grace is beyond the scope of this chapter, here it is helpful to provide a working definition of the concept within the Christian faith. The anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers define grace as the pure gratuitous gift of God: "Louis Ott (1955) defines it as "a free gift of God unmerited by men" ("un don gratuit de la part de Dieu et immérité de la part de l'homme"). According to St. Thomas Aquinas it is especially the gift of the Holy Spirit, but it is also, in the Pauline view, associated particularly with Christ whose death redeemed us from original sin. As pardon obtained through Him, it is the key to salvation." See Julian Pitt-Rivers, "The Place of Grace in Anthropology." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 1.1 (2011), 429.

[506] These ideas fed into Bernardino's understanding of Revelations 14:1, as laid out in an unusual sermon titled *De pugna et saccomanno paradise sive caelestis Ierusalem* which describes the siege and sacking of the eternal kingdom by soldiers of Christ who have the Holy Name of the Lamb and of the Father impressed upon their foreheads by the Holy Spirit. For Bernardino, it was through the exposure of the name of Jesus to one's body during their lifetime that the faithful would find themselves amongst the elect at the end of time with the Holy Name impressed upon their foreheads. See Opera II, Sermon LXVI, 453 – 455, as cited in Loman McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena." *Franciscan Studies* 29 (1969), 35.

[507] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy*, 2000, 8. The most thorough examination of the controversy surrounding Bernardino's cult of the Holy Name and the charges of heresy may be found in Ephrem Longpré, "S. Bernardin de Sienne et le nom de Jésus," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 (1935): 443 – 76; 29 (1936): 142 – 68, 443 – 77; and 30 (1937): 170 – 92.

[508] Biglia thought that the mass effect produced by the *tavoletta* was a form of idolatry and magic. See Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Le memoire d'Andre Biglia sur la predication de S. Bernardin de Sienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 53 (1935): 308 – 58.

would strain to catch a glimpse of the elevated host held by the priest.[509] As Bernardino displayed the *tavoletta*, the audience would scream "Giesù! Giesù!" and "Misericordia!" in an emotional tide overflowing with tears.[510] The sight of it even performed miracles. The recorder of the 1425 sermons in Siena reported that on May 28 of that year a woman who had been possessed for more than fourteen years was cured upon having seen the *tavoletta*.[511]

Church officials such as Biglia feared that this was all in danger of sinking into pure idolatry.[512] In his defense Bernardino turned once again to the Eucharist in order to demonstrate the orthodoxy of the trigram:

> And it was why I was taken up in that year of disgrace, in regards to what I said of the name of Jesus. In order to be better informed, I will tell you a lot more compared to those who do not speak as they ought. I did not say that one should adore the substances and qualities of the colors, nor gold nor silver, nor blue, nor the rays nor the tablet, but the substance that lay underneath the letter. Now tell me, how do you worship the body of Jesus Christ consecrated at the altar? Do you worship that whiteness of the bread, or the quality or the taste, or its roundness? But no, I love the substance of the body and blood of Christ that lay beneath the species of the bread and wine, not the quality of the accident, but the substance veiled in that quality. And those who adore the accidents of appearance are condemned for the mortal sin of idolatry. So I say of the written name of Jesus.[513]

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[509] Aden Kumler describes this manic desire to see the elevated host. See Kumler, "The Multiplication of the Species," 180.

[510] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy*, 2000, 73.

[511] "Finita che fu questa predica, frate Bernardino mostrò in sul pergolo la tavola ne' la quale era scritto el Nome di Gesù. E furo stimate le persone che vi furo trenta migliaia, a piei il Palazzo de' Signori di Siena. E quando mostrò la detta tavola, tutto quello popolo ad alta voce gridò 'Gesù! Gesù! Gesù!' Allora una indominiata ch'era stata quattordici anni con quelli spiriti adosso, nel mostrare di quella tavola, essendo ella alla predica, subbito fu liberata. Immediate s'andò a processione per tutta la città. E questo fu nel 1425 (28 maggio)." Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari [di] San Bernardino da Siena: Predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Firenze: Tipografia E. Rinaldi, 1958. Vol. II, 184.

[512] Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy*, 2000, 72.

[513] "E perche io fui ripreso e infamato anno, di quello dissi del Nome di Gesù, questo anno, come meglio amaestrato e informato, ne dirò molto più contro a chi parla come non si debbe; che non dissi s'adorasse i colori nè dell'oro nè argento, nè azzurro, nè razzi, nè tavola, per loro medesime sustanzie e qualità, ma il sustanziale ch' è sotto quella cotale lettera. Or dimmi, come adori tu il corpo di Gesù Cristo consecrato all'altare? Adori tu quella bianchezza del pane, o quella qualità, o quello sapore, o quello ritondezza? Mai no, ma sotto quella spezie di pane e di vino adoro la sustanzia del corpo e del sangue di Gesù Cristo; non la qualità dell'accidente, ma la sustanzia velata in quella qualità; e chi adorasse quegli accidenti peccherebbe in idolatria mortalmente. Così dico del Nome iscritto di Gesù." Bernardino of Siena, *Le*

Here Bernardino justified his use of the *tavoletta* by specifically comparing it to the doctrine of Eucharistic real presence. Images were composed of materials that *veiled* the immanent presence of the grace infused substance incorporated within. They could contain traces of the divine that lay hidden beneath their outlines and auspicious materials, *sotto quella cotale lettera*, just as the accidents of the host hid the corporeal substance of Christ. The mere sight of an image containing the name of Christ could leave an impression upon the body that would transform the beholder, just as the host was a body that had been imprinted with an image of the name of Christ, and when ingested, transferred this impression to the worshiper. In their being *figurale di grazia*, the trigrams were capable of spreading grace through the absorption of their visible forms.

Bernardino's equation of the Eucharist with the *tavoletta* has further ramifications for the mimetic mode utilized in the early images of the saint. For the host had a special claim on the real: it is a sign that is consubstantial with what it represents.[514] Thus the mirroring of Bernardino's visage with the hovering trigram draws a parallel between the truth of the "substance" of Christ's presence within the gilded letters and the remarkable naturalism of the friar's likeness. If the early images were meant to function as substitutes for the saint's absent body, as a way to maintain Bernardino's presence in Siena as Machtelt Israëls has claimed, this close association reinforces such a function. For the trigram was "letter by letter holy," as Bernardino himself had said, and was to be understood in relation to Eucharistic real presence.

Prediche Volgari [Di] San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425. Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934. Vol. III, 146-147. The translation is mine.

[514] Stephen Campbell has made a related claim regarding the relationship between the representation of the Eucharist and naturalistic elements in painting. See Stephen J. Campbell, "Renaissance Naturalism and the Jewish Bible: Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, 1520 – 1540," in Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg eds., *Judaism and Christian Art: Aestehtic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*. Philadelphia & Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, 309.

The ultimate reality of the Holy Name asserts the authenticity of the portrait of the saint, acting as a guarantor of the value of the sacred image.[515] At the same time this was a reciprocal relationship. The close association of the trigram with the likeness of the charismatic preacher promoted the legitimacy of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus, which was not officially recognized by the church until 1530.[516] Even in death, Bernardino was asserting the orthodoxy of the image of the Holy Name.

Just as the duplication of the host became a marker of its guaranteed sacramental value, the images of Bernardino gained a kind of currency through their repetition of signifiers. The drawings and paintings from northern Italy, with their profile view of the saint based upon Marescotti's medal acquired their prestige through a repetition of the saint's sanctified physiognomy. By borrowing the convention of the profile likeness from the courtly medium of the portrait medal, these images transfer some of the medium's associated authority.[517] The features of the saint became powerful signifiers that could transmit some of the saint's *virtus* to the beholder, as is evidenced by accounts of the thaumaturgical panels found in Siena and Rieti.[518] The awe-inspiring materials used in the making of the early images of the saint, the

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[515] This strategy of guaranteeing paralleled the fourteenth-century monetary policies of the monarchs of France, who had explicitly mimicked the form of the Eucharistic wafer in their coinage. In his discussion of the lineage of the iconography of the YHS trigram on Bernardino's *tavoletta*, Vincenzo Pacelli had noted that the YHS and IHS trigrams appear on coins minted by the kings of France and the dukes of Savoy: "L'abbreviazione…YHS e IHS, nonché l'invocazione 'Benedictum sit nomen Domini Jesu Christi' come si legge sulle monete dei re di Francia sin dal 1226 o sui grossi tornesi d'argento coniati nel 1391 dai duchi di Savoia, testimoniano ancora della notorietà della venerazione del SS. Nome." See Pacelli, "Iconografia," 185-186.

[516] Pope Clement VII added the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus to the liturgical calendar of the Church in 1530. For more on this event see Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1962, 129; and Mormando, *The Preacher's* Demons, 89.

[517] Beverly Louise Brown has described the use of the profile in court portraiture in fifteenth-century Italy as an attempt to "embody the ruler's intrinsic worth." See Beverly Louise Brown, "Portraiture at the Courts of Italy," in Keith Christiansen et al. *The Renaissance Portrait: From Donatello to Bellini*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven Conn., 2011, 26.

[518] A number of miracles were said to have occurred in relation to the Osservanza panel, especially by those who had visited Bernardino's habit which was held in the vicinity of the painting. For accounts of

shimmering gold and luxurious pigments, were figurative of their grace infused status. That one was to appreciate that which was hidden and contained within these materials is perhaps expressed by the passage written in the open book held by Bernardino: "Mind the things that are above, not the things upon the earth." So often seen as "characteristic of Bernardino's ascetic morale,"[519] this passage seems to purposefully contradict the ostentatious materiality of the gilded and painted panel itself. Understood through Bernardino's Eucharistic semiotics, however, the inscription provides clear instructions for how one was to interact with these images. The beholder was to look beyond the accidents of the lavish gold and luxurious pigments of the paintings and absorb the grace hidden within.

"*Accendere ad individuam unitatem*"

During Bernardino's lifetime the Sienese government had demonstrated a shrewd appreciation of the friar's contribution to its goals of civic harmony by calling on him to perform his series of peacemaking sermons.[520] As he preached Bernardino would praise the trigram and the veneration of the Holy Name of Jesus in relation to the real presence of Christ in the transubstantiated host.[521] In a sermon on how one should receive the Body of Christ (*Del*

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the miracles associated with the Osservanza panel see Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 81, and Enrico Bulletti, "Per la canonizzazione di S. Bernardino da Siena," in *Bullettino di Studi Bernardiniani* 10, 1944-50, 121-123. There are also reports from other towns of curative powers being associated with images of the saint. In the church of San Francesco in Rieti an unknown image of Bernardino had brought about the miraculous healing of a little girl in November of 1444: "cum magna devotione et fide accesserunt ad beatum Bernardinum in ecclesia sancti Francisi predicte civitatis Reatine in claustro loci dicte ecclesie iuxta capellam sancti Andree, et ibidem genuflexi dicto viro Dei predictam filiam ostenderunt." See F.M. Delorme, "Ex libro miracolorum SS. Bernardni Senensis et Ioannis a Capestrano auctore fr. Conrado de Freyenstat", in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 11, 1918, 414, as cited in Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 85, n. 31.

[519] Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 82.

[520] Timothy Smith and Judith Steinhoff, "Introduction," in Timothy B. Smith and Judith B. Steinhoff eds. *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*. Surrey; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2012, 9.

[521] Loman McAodha has noted that during the 1425 peacemaking cycle in Siena Bernardino preached several sermons on the Holy Name of Jesus, and that this was the theme which dominated all the others in his preaching at this time. See McAodha, "The Holy Name of Jesus in the Preaching of St. Bernardine of Siena," 40. In addition to the sermon entitled "Dell'Apparecchio di Pigliare el Corpo di Cristo," cited in

Pigliare il Corpo di Cristo), the preacher even went so far as to suggest that the Holy Name possessed the same salvific power of the Eucharist: "I believe that if the greatest sinner in the world…receives the Body of Christ at the point of death with devotion, I believe they are saved. I also believe this: those who die with devotion and love of the Name of Jesus, die saved."[522] During another sermon delivered in Perugia in 1425 Bernardino similarly claimed "now we have two sanctified arks: the Body of Christ and the Name of Jesus."[523] We have seen how Bernardino believed that the sight of the trigram could physically transform the body of the beholder, reforming the individual by allowing them to ingest the Holy Name into their very being. Absorbing the letters into their flesh, the beholder would be assimilated into the Christian community in much the same way that the Eucharist was meant to unite the faithful in the body of Christ.[524]

Bernardino's sermons on the Eucharist during this period need to be understood in relation to the special civic significance of the feast of Corpus Domini in Siena.[525] Giulio Dalvit

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note 113 above, there are sermons called "Del Corpo di Cristo," "Del Pigliare il Corpo di Cristo," and "Della Preparazione del Comunicarsi." See Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari [Di] San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425*. Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934. Vol. II, 248 – 266 and 312 – 326 and vol. III, 324 – 344 and 385 – 389 respectively.

[522] "Credo che 'l maggiore peccatore del mondo, facendo dal canto quo quello può, al punto della morte, e pigli il Corpo di Cristo con divozione, credo sia salvo. Ancora credo questo: Chi col Nome di Gesù muore con divozione e amore, muoia salvo." Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425*. Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934. Vol. III, 334. The translation is mine.

[523] "nam due arche sanctificationis: corpus Christi et nomen Iesu." D. Pacetti, "La predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena a Perugia e ad Assisi nel 1425" in *Collectanea Franciscana* 10 (1940), 171. The translation is mine.

[524] During the 1425 peacemaking cycle delivered in front of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Bernardino gave a sermon on the Eucharist entitled "Dell'Apparecchio di Pigliare el Corpo di Cristo," where he stated that the three primary benefits of receiving the sacrament were that it provides "refezione" (refection, or refreshment by food), "preparazione" (preparation of the soul), and "consumata unione" (union with God). See Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari di San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425*. Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934. Vol. II, 312.

[525] For more on the importance of the feast of Corpus Domini in Siena see G. Barbiero, "L'origine della confraternite dell SS.mo Sacramento in Italia," in S. Axters ed., *Studia eucharistica DDC anni a condito festo sanctissimi Corporis Christ, 1246 – 1946.* Antwerp, 1946, 187 – 215; Machtelt Israëls, "Sassetta's

had situated the perceivable shift in interest in Siena from devotion to the Virgin to devotion to Christ to "around the 1440s," but the origins for this transformation date back further.[526] Ever since the collapse of the *Nove* regime the communal government had expressed an interest in harnessing the rituals surrounding the feast as a means to generate social cohesion. A public celebration of Corpus Domini in Siena is first mentioned in 1356, one year following the end of the rule of the Nine. In that year the new government of the *Dodici* decided to offer up candles that were to be carried in the feast's procession, all in the hope that the celebration of the Holy Sacrament would "through its charity set the minds of the Sienese aglow, kindling indivisible unity (*accendere ad individuam unitatem*)."[527]

Initially the festivities had been under the purview of the Carmelites in conjunction with the wool guild of the Arte della Lana.[528] As the feast grew in popularity, however, the communal

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Arte della Lana Altarpiece and the Cult of Corpus Domini in Siena." *Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001), 532 – 543; and Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 180 – 200.

[526] Noting that the image of the Man of Sorrows "seems to have been more common in fifteenth-century Siena than elsewhere in Italy," Dalvit argues this phenomenon was due to Siena's special devotion to the Corpus Domini. See Giulio Dalvit, "The Iconography of Vecchietta's Bronze Christ in Siena." *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld* Institutes 80 (2017), 45 – 46.

[527] "Ut in devotissima processione dicta die fienda per dictos fratres per civitatem Senensis, dicti doppieri portentur accensi ad reverentiam sanctissimi et sacratissimi Corporis Domini, ut dignetur sue caritatis ardere mentes Senensium, accendere ad individuam unitatem." See ASS, Consiglio Generale 157, fol. 7v, as cited in Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 183.

[528] The Carmelites traditionally held the Virgin Mary as their patron, and their devotion to the body of Christ in Siena is distinct from their settlements elsewhere. According to Machtelt Israëls the Order's special devotion to the cult of Corpus Domini in Siena was due to the fact that a dedication to the Virgin was not a distinguishing feature in the *Civitas Virginis*. The Sienese Carmelites apparently took up the novel feast of Corpus Domini and in the process linked themselves to a cult that was gaining tremendous popularity. In 1367 the wool guild decided to adopt the Carmelite feast of Corpus Domini. According to the statutes of the wool guild from that year, the festivities began on the vigil with vespers held on Piazza San Pellegrino, the square of the Arte della Lana. The following day a solemn mass was held in San Niccolò al Carmine. From there a number of guild members carried the consecrated host contained in a monstrance in procession throughout all of the city, culminating in Piazza San Pellegrino. Under the government of the Dodici the guild system was restructured, resulting in a heightened role for the Arte della Lana in the city's guild hierarchy. See Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 185 – 186.

government increasingly adopted a leading role in the celebrations.[529] On 21 May 1447 Pope Nicholas V deprived the Carmelites of their privileged status by ordaining that the cathedral would become the primary religious body in charge of the feast.[530] Only nine years later, in 1456, a rubric was added to the city statutes that officially established the communal government's oversight.[531] The procession's route was altered so that it would pass in front of the Palazzo Pubblico where the high representatives of the commune would join the cortege before it made its way to the cathedral.[532] Strict rules were placed upon the sequence of participants, transforming the Corpus Domini procession into a highly choreographed civic ritual that organized the populace into an idealized hierarchical social group. The new arrangements not only asserted the regime's control over the festivities, but also clearly linked their political authority to the supernatural charisma of the Eucharist.[533]

The feast of Corpus Domini is celebrated the Thursday following the octave of Pentecost, an event that coincided with the springtime peacemaking efforts of 1425. Immediately following

[529] In 1433 Pope Eugenius IV granted indulgences to those participating in the procession. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 211. Machtelt Israëls notes that by the 1430s the cult of Corpus Domini had acquired such popularity as to attract renewed interest from other religious and civic authorities. See Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 197.
[530] Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 197.
[531] Fabrizio Nevola, "Cerimoniali per santi e feste a Siena a metà Quattrocento. Documenti dallo Statuto di Siena, 39" in Mario Ascheri ed. *Siena ed il suo Territorio nel Rinascimento III*, Siena: Il Leccio, 2001, 173 – 175, 180 – 1, doc. 2, as cited in Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 198.
[532] The altered procession route led from the Arte della Lana headquarters to the Palazzo Pubblico, before moving on to the Duomo. See Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 198.
[533] As noted by Israëls, "Confraternities led the procession, followed by the religious orders, the woolworkers accompanied by trumpeters and the other guilds in ascending order of importance. The cortège culminated with high guild officials, especially from the Arte della Lana, closest to the Holy Sacrament beneath its baldachin and immediately followed by representatives of the city government, arranged in decreasing order of importance. Following the 'padiglione', possibly shaded Piazza San Pellegrino, the cortège was reshuffled to include the high clergy, now parading guilds, confraternities, the religious, musicians, the canons, the Holy Sacrament, a cardinal and bishops, city-magistrates with released prisoners and, last but not least, the Arte della Lana. The hierarchy thus seems to have moved inward towards the procession's fulcrum, the Eucharist, with a secular accent in the first sequence and a religious one in the second." Israëls, "Altars on the Street," 198 – 199.

Bernardino's last sermon in that cycle the communal government adopted a series of statutory reforms promoted by the friar, the *Riformagioni di frate Bernardino*, and their existence provides an important reminder of the friar's political role in advising upon new legislation.[534] An even more visible indication of Bernardino's direct involvement in the reform of civic politics, however, was the commissioning of the monumental gilded bronze trigram for the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico (Fig. 159). The *Concistoro* approved the construction of the trigram on 11 June 1425, the day after the completion of Bernardino's cycle of peacemaking sermons.[535] For this project Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni di Turino were appointed to cast the bronze, while Battista di Niccolò da Padova was hired to paint the ultramarine base. Combining aspects of painting and relief, the monumental trigram fulfilled Bernardino's outspoken desire for exemplars of the name of Jesus, "*dipinto o rilevato,*" that could be seen often.[536] The ultramarine has long since faded, but the bronze trigram still dominates the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico to this day. Its installation carried clear political significance. According to the sixteenth-century

[534] The *Riformagioni di frate Bernardino* of 1425 may be found in ASS, *Consiglio generale 210*, f. 199v – 203r. They are also transcribed in ASS, *Statuti di Siena 41*, c. 68r – 75v. The reforms included rules against blasphemy, sodomy and usury, as well as limitations imposed upon gambling and the places where it was deemed an acceptable activity. The greatest weight of the new legislation is placed upon the condemnation of excessive spending of money on marriages and dowries, as well as sumptuary regulations of women's clothing. For more on the reforms, see Marina Montesano, "Aspetti e Conseguenze della Predicazione Civica di Bernardino da Siena," in *La Religion Civique à l'Époque Médiévale et Moderne: Chrétienté et Islam: Actes Du Colloque*. André Vauchez ed. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1995, 265 – 275.

[535] On this day the consistory decided to construct a trigram that would be located on the middle portion of the anterior façade of the palace. On 16 June 1425, it was decided that the trigram was to be made of gilded bronze set upon a base of painted ultramarine blue. On June 28 the commission for painting the ultramarine was granted to Battista di Niccolò of Padua, while on June 29th Turino di Sano and his son Giovanni were commissioned to cast the bronze for the sum of 40 florins. See ASS, *Concistoro 356*, c.14v – 16 and *Concistoro 2175*, n. 8, as cited in Cesare Brandi ed., *Palazzo Pubblico di Siena*, 425.

[536] "La migliore iscrittura del nome di Gesù si è quella del cuore, poi quella delle parole, poi è l'esemplare, dipinto o rilevato, veggendolo spesso coll'occhio corporale," Bernardino of Siena, *Le Prediche Volgari [Di] San Bernardino da Siena: Quaresimale del 1425*. Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934. Vol. II, 208-209.

Sienese historian Orlando Malavolti, the trigram replaced the arms of Gian Galeazzo Visconti which had previously occupied the privileged position.[537]

Bernardino's death threatened to create a destabilizing void, and initially it was the remarkably veristic images of the saint that maintained his pacifying presence within the city. Yet there can be little doubt that the subsequent proliferation of the YHS trigram throughout the cityscape was also intended to ease Siena's internal friction during this period. Upon Bernardino's canonization in 1450, outdoor altars adorned with highly mimetic images of the new saint were set up at street-crossings in each district and the YHS was placed above doorways.[538] Over the years trigrams accumulated throughout the Sienese cityscape where they decorate a number of structures to this day. They were placed atop the city gates, as may be seen in the extant sun discs that surmount the Porta Camollia, Porta di Fontebranda, Porta Ovile, Porta dei Pispini, Porta Romana, Porta San Marco, and Porta dei Tufi (Figs. 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166). Dozens of examples also appear above the entryways to private residences forming a dense network that covers much of the historic center of Siena (Figs. 167, 168, 169, 170, 171).[539] While the Corpus Domini processions temporarily transformed the topography of the city into a

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[537] "Si fece dalla Signoria ancora porre nella fronte del Palazzo Pubblico, dove era prima l'arme di Giovan Galeazzo Duca di Milano, quell Nome di Giesu di rame dorato, che ancora hoggi vi si vede." Orlando Malavolti, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Senesi dall'origine all 1555*, Venice, 1599, Book 2, Part 3, 17. The arms of Gian Galeazzo may have been painted on the façade in 1396 by Bartolo di Fredi, Giusaffa Filippi, and Cristofanus di Bindocci. A document in the Sienese archives dated 13 December 1396 notes payments to these artists for having painted a snake on the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico. Beside the entry is an image of a spiraling snake on a shield that evokes the Biscione of the Visconti. See ASS, *Concistoro*, 176, 18v, as cited in Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti Per La Storia Dell'Arte Senese*. Siena, Italy: O. Porri, 1854 - 1856, vol. II, 37.

[538] See ASS, *Chroniche sanesi di Tommaso Fecini*, MS D. 35, II, 216. See also Robert Louis Mode, "San Bernardino in Glory." *The Art Bulletin* 55.1 (1973), 59 – 61.

[539] While no comprehensive catalog exists of the architectural trigrams in Siena, one has been composed for Perugia documenting 57 trigrams ranging in date from the fifteenth century to the early nineteenth century. See Andrea Majarelli and Riccardo Norgini, "Il monogramma di San Bernardino a Perugia: una originale mappa di religiosità popolare." Archivio Perugino-pievese. "Perugia Giubilare" III (2000): 41 – 47, as cited in Rihouet, "The Visibility of the Trigram," in *The Unifying Power of Moving Pictures in Late Medieval and Renaissance Umbria,* 250, n. 676.

ritualized landscape, the installation of trigrams on Sienese buildings left a more lasting impression on the material fabric of the urban environment.

On one level the nearly ubiquitous presence of the Holy Name in Sienese daily life performed an apotropaic capacity, as Bernardino clearly indicated when he told his listeners to "put it on, whether written or figured, and nothing bad can happen to you" (*portatelo adosso, o scritto o figurato, e non potrai capitar male*). The placement of the YHS above city gates represents a particularly significant alteration, as traditionally it had been the Virgin Mary that performed this protective function in Siena.[540] Operating on another level was the self-abnegating effect of the repeated stamping of the trigram onto the built environment, its pervasive presence encouraging a cohesive social identity through the supplanting of partisan emblems. This displacement of secular arms and insignia to marginal positions was a defining feature of some of Siena's ecclesiastical architecture, where the YHS was given pride of place on the facades of side chapels well into the seventeenth century.[541] The church of San Martino

[540] The primary examples of the practice of using apotropaic images of the Virgin on city gates in Siena were the paintings commissioned in the fourteenth century by the Nove that depicted the Assumption of the Virgin on the Porta Camollia, which greeted travelers coming to the city from the north on the Via Francigena, and the Coronation of the Virgin that surmounted the Porta Romana and greeted travelers coming from the south on the pilgrimage trail. See Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*, 131 – 132.

[541] Sienese funerary chapels in particular reveal a pattern of self-abnegation. During the fifteenth century the display of family arms was strictly limited. Robert Munman has noted that in quattrocento Florence, by way of contrast, "it was customary to hang armor, trophies, standards and heraldic devices, collectively known as bandiere, above the family chapels and tombs." In Siena citizens were pressured into avoiding any accusations of vainglory that might arise from extravagant personal memorials, and those who could afford the costs of a large tomb monument often chose instead to leave a substantial sum of money specifically for use in aiding the poor. This practice led Munman to comment upon the relative lack of large and extravagant sepulchral monuments in the city: "It is, in fact, striking that in spite of Siena's strong sculptural legacy, not a single, truly monumental tomb (and very few of any significant size) was constructed in the city during the Quattrocento. In addition, none of the known memorials by Sienese sculptors (with the possible exception of Jacopo della Quercia's tomb for Ilaria del Carretto) rivaled the more elaborate monuments of nearby Florence in size or complexity; one will look in vain for the Sienese equivalent of the sculpturally rich tombs of Baldassare Coscia, Carlo Marsuppini and the Cardinal of Portugal." While Munman's claim that "not a single, truly monumental tomb" was constructed in Siena during the quattrocento is not entirely accurate, the now lost tomb that Enea Silvio

provides surviving examples of this enduring practice. There the trigram is found in the pediment of the Marsili chapel, built in the 1520s, and it similarly surmounts the three seventeenth-century chapels situated across the nave (Figs. 172, 173). In all of these structures any family arms were inevitably placed in subordinate positions, usually in the sides of the frame or at the base of the chapel.[542]

Of course the trigram was no ordinary emblem. Its charisma was radically different from that of the various insignia of the *contrade* or the arms of noble families which it was meant to supersede. Recall that Bernardino had sought the construction of multiple exempla of the Holy Name precisely so that they could be seen "with corporeal sight often" (*veggendolo spesso coll'occhio corporale*) in the hope that regular exposure would reform the individual in Christ's image. In Siena the architectonic trigrams were almost invariably installed in a central and elevated position, often above a doorway as if to ensure that the grace radiating from the Holy Name would envelope the entire portal. An important exception to this emphasis upon centrality is the enormous fresco of the trigram painted by Battista di Niccolò da Padova along the windowed wall of the Sala del Consiglio in 1425.[543] While the off-centre position of this fresco

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Piccolomini commissioned for his parents in 1459 and the bronze effigy of Mariano Sozzini cast by Vecchietta ca. 1472 come to mind as exceptions, the argument that a widespread tradition for such monuments did not exist in fifteenth-century Siena still stands. On the relative lack of a monumental tomb tradition in Siena and the city's sumptuary and funerary laws, see Robert Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1993, 6-12.

[542] Situated in the center of the three seventeenth-century chapels located on the right side as one enters the church is the ca. 1620 Gori chapel, one of the most impressive early Baroque chapels in Siena, composed of a sumptuous marble frame by Ascanio Cavoni da Cortona that houses Guido Reni's *Circumcision* of ca. 1625 – 30. For more on the church of San Martino and its chapels see A. Liberati, "Chiese, monasteri, oratori e spedali senesi: ricordi e notizie." *Bullettino senese di storia patria* 13 (1954): 143 - 151; Machtelt Israëls: 'Sodoma at Porta Pispini and the Pictorial Decoration of Sienese City Gates', in T.B. Smith and J. Steinhoff, eds.: *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, Farnham 2012, 205 – 207; and Joseph Connors and Machtelt Brüggen Israëls, "Borromini in Siena." *The Burlington Magazine* 158 (September 2016): 702 – 714.

[543] The work is mentioned in documents of June of 1425 in reference to the sun disc that Battista di Niccolò, Turino di Sano and Giovanni di Turino installed on the façade of the palace. For more on the

may be at least in part explained by the architectural constraints imposed by the arrangement of windows on this wall, it is interesting to note the way in which the enormous trigram is highlighted through its framing by the arch leading into the Sala del Consiglio from the antechapel as one exits the Cappella de'Signoria (Fig. 174). Upon its completion the Holy Name became the first image that met the eye of any individual entering the Sala del Consiglio from this location. Trigrams were also sometimes installed at the apex of vaulting where they appear like fictive *oculi*, especially in chapels associated with the consecrated host. An instance of this practice may be seen in the Cappella del Santissimo Sacramento in the church of San Niccolò del Carmine (Fig. 175). Another example is found on the ceiling of the Cappella del Miracolo Eucaristico in San Francesco, named for the 223 consecrated hosts said to be miraculously preserved in the chapel since their theft and recovery in August of 1730 (Fig. 176).[544] The centric positioning of the trigram in these architectural settings allowed for a clear line of sight, fulfilling Bernardino's desire for high visibility. Yet the resulting perspectival situation also meant that the beholder became more "visible" to the Holy Name, and therefore subject to the omnivoyance of God.[545] The trigrams as fictive *oculi* (Latin for 'eyes') make this perspectival relationship explicit.[546] The ceiling mounted sun discs functioned almost as sanctifying field generators, their gilded rays visualizing the invisible grace that fell upon all who stood below.

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history of this fresco see Milanesi, *Documenti Per La Storia Dell'Arte Senese*, vol. II, 131; and Southard, *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico*, 248.

[544] On the miraculous hosts see Mary G. Chadwick, "The Miraculous Hosts of Siena." *The Catholic Historical Review* 8.4 (1923): 497-511.

[545] Jean Campbell has made a similar argument regarding the YHS trigram located at the apex of the groin vault in the Camera d'Oro at the castle of Torrechiara, painted for the count of Berceto, Pier Maria Rossi, in the 1460s. For Campbell the sun disc in the Camera d'Oro represented "Divine Wisdom incarnate." See Jean Campbell, "Pier Maria Rossi's Treasure: Love, Knowledge, and the Invention of the Source in the Camera d'Oro at Torrechiara," in Giancarla Periti, ed., *Emilia e Marche nel Rinascimento: L'Identità Visiva della 'Periferia.'* Azzano San Paolo: Bolis Edizioni, 2005, 73.

[546] Stephen Campbell noted this perspectival metaphor in regards to the fictive *oculus* in Mantegna's *Camera Picta*. See Campbell, "Mantegna's Camera Picta," 321 – 323.

Richard Trexler has remarked upon the "volatility" of sacred images, noting their ability to transform the ritual landscape of a city.[547] And if it is the power of ritual to convert the *corpus politicum* into a commonness of feeling, into *communitas* as Edith and Victor Turner would have it, then the YHS trigram was the ritual object *par excellence*.[548] According to Bernardino's eucharistic semiotics, Christ was present in each instance of the Holy Name. Thus the widespread introduction of the trigram transformed the Sienese cityscape by placing a Christological overlay upon the built environment, forever altering the devotional tenor of the *Civitas Virginis*. This shift from a primarily Marian form of civic religion towards adopting a Christocentric focus anticipated the decline in the production of images of the Virgin in Sienese civic commissions in the late fifteenth century. Susan E. Wegner noted this downturn in a study of the painted panels, often called *biccherne*, that were produced as covers for the records of the financial offices of the *Gabella* and *Biccherna*. Whereas these panels had traditionally been decorated with images of Mary, beginning in 1490 the Virgin disappears entirely and does not reappear until 1539.[549] Wegner claimed that this ebbing of the Virgin's currency was due to the growing influence of Pandolfo Petrucci in Sienese affairs, culminating in the 1506 removal of Duccio's *Maestà* from the high altar of Siena's cathedral and its replacement by the bronze ciborium topped by a figure of the *Risen Christ* which had originally been cast by Vecchietta for the hospital church of Santa Maria della Scala in 1472.[550] Art historians have consistently recognized this as an overtly political act, part of a conscious strategy on the part of Petrucci to

[547] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1980, 71.
[548] Edith and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 13.
[549] Susan E. Wegner, "The Rise of Saint Catherine of Siena as an Intercessor for the Sienese," in A. Lawrence Jenkens ed., *Renaissance Siena: Art in Context.* Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2005, 185.
[550] Wegner, "The Rise of Saint Catherine of Siena as an Intercessor for the Sienese," 188.

dismantle references to the Virgin due to her associations with the governmental structures of Siena's medieval past.[551] Yet Bernardino's promotion of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the introduction of monumental YHS trigrams into the built environment of Siena suggests that a shift towards a Christocentric devotional focus had already begun much earlier.

Beyond this alteration of Siena's civic religion and urban identity, the repetition of the YHS throughout the cityscape also encouraged a pacified populace through the creation of overlapping spaces where reverential attitudes were appropriate.[552] Their sprinkling all over the topography of the city functioned like a network of streetlights, only instead of visible light each sun disc emitted invisible grace.[553] The installation of the massive gilded bronze YHS upon the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico in 1425 was the most visible of the presence-generating nodes on this network. The potential for such a web of trigrams to manufacture an urban image of a cohesive political structure cannot be overstated. The totalizing power of the trigram, a power that had unsettled some of Bernardino's contemporaries, lay precisely in its self-abnegating effects. This was a process of assimilation as the Holy Name was repeatedly "tilled in heart and tongue" (*arai in cuore e in lingua*). Visually ingesting the golden letters, the populace of Siena

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[551] Like Wegner, Jennifer Sliwka has similarly argued that Petrucci's removal of the *Maestà* and subsequent installation of the *Risen Christ* on the high altar resulted in a shift from the cathedral's earlier Marian orientation to a new Christological one. According to Sliwka, Beccafumi's subsequent commissions in the cathedral further underscored this new Christocentric focus. See Jennifer Sliwka, "Introduction," in *Domenico Beccafumi and the Politics of Devotion in Sixteenth-Century Siena*. PhD Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, Ann Arbor: UMI (3525089), 3 – 4.

[552] Edward Muir has argued that images of the Madonna in street corner tabernacles in Venice performed a pacifying function by creating spaces where individuals were expected to adopt respectful attitudes. See Edward Muir, "The Virgin on the Street Corner: the Place of the Sacred in Italian Cities," in Steven Ozment ed., *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*. Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1989, 25.

[553] Judith Chatfield has suggested a link between street tabernacles and social control in late medieval Florence, noting that the imposition of a curfew was once enforced by the use of the candlelight associated with street corner tabernacles as street lighting. See Judith Spencer Chatfield, *A History and Catalogue of Florentine Street Tabernacles fromthe Dugento through the Seicento*. MPhil thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1974, 37-40.

might be transformed from a heterogeneous mass of factionalist partisans into a body politic united in Christ.

Chapter Four: Vecchiezza

Sena vetus

> The city of Siena is a relatively new city, which was founded around the year of Christ 670, when Charles Martel, father of King Pippin of France, came with the French in the region of Apulia in service to the Holy Church, to fight a people who called themselves Lombards…And the said host of the French and other ultramontanes, finding themselves in the place which is today Siena, left there all the old people, and those who were unwell, and those who were not able to bear arms, so as not to take them along into Apulia. And those remaining at rest in the aforesaid place settled there…and the one dwelling with another was called Sena, from those who stayed behind on account of their old age (*vecchiezza*).
>
> ~ Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, 1330s[554]

The above account of Siena's origins written by the fourteenth-century Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani was clearly intended as derogatory. On one hand Villani denied the Sienese any claim to antiquity by portraying their founders as having been not prestigious Romans but seventh-century foreigners from across the Alps. At the same time he characterized those who had settled in the area as elderly, sick, and weak. Villani's narrative also reminds us that during the late middle ages names were much more than labels, they were part of the metaphoric way of thinking about the world.[555] A name was thought to capture and comment upon the ontological status of a thing, allowing Villani to link the city's Latin moniker '*Sena*' with the concept of *senectus* (old age).[556] This provided an opportunity for an ironic and witty

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[554] "La città di Siena è assai nuova città, ch'ella fu cominciata intorno agli anni di Cristo 670, quando Carlo Martello, padre del re Pipino di Francia, co'Franceschi andavano nel regno di Puglia in servigio di santa Chiesa a contrastare una gente che si chiamavano I Longobardi…E trovandosi la detta oste de' Franceschi e altri oltramontani ov'è oggi Siena, si lasciato in quello luogo tutti gli vecchi e quelli che non erano bene sani, e che non poteano portare arme, per non menarglisi dietro in Puglia; e quelli rimasi in riposo nel detto luogo, vi si comiciaro ad abitare…e l'uno abitacolo e l'altro era chiamato Sena, dirivando di quegli che v'erano rimasi per vecchiezza." Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*. Giuseppe Porta ed. 3 vols. Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo/Guanda, 1990, vol. 1, 81 – 82. The English translation is from Benes, *Urban Legends*, 110.

[555] Giancarla Periti, "From Allegri to Laetus-Lieto: The Shaping of Correggio's Artistic Distinctiveness." *The Art Bulletin* 86.3 (2004), 459.

[556] Brendan Cassidy also noted Villani's witty association of Siena's name with the elderly. See Cassidy, "Sculpture and Civic Ideals in the Communes," in *Politics, Civic Ideals, and Sculpture in Italy c. 1240 – 1400*, 100.

form of word play by the chronicler, who described the condition of Siena's supposed founders through the use of the Italian vernacular '*vecchiezza,*' which referred to the status of being old or of 'oldness' in late medieval and early modern writings.[557] According to Villani, then, the very name of Siena was intimately connected to the elderly status of the city's first legendary settlers.

Far from rejecting Villani's portrayal of the city's founders as senescent, ill, and weak, the Sienese may have attempted to subvert such insults through the self-conscious fashioning of a communal identity that embraced elderliness. The city had been linked to concepts of old age through the use of the motto "*Sena Vetus*" (Old Siena) since at least the late twelfth century.[558] Usually understood as part of broader attempts to invent an antique heritage, the motto could equally have referenced the importance of venerable elders in the maintenance of Siena's identity as a Republic.[559] In Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Good Government* fresco located in the *Sala della Pace* of the Palazzo Pubblico the central figure commonly interpreted as a personification of the *Ben Comune* is depicted as an enthroned elderly male with white hair and beard, features that led Mario Ascheri to refer to this individual as a *"Gran Vecchio"* (Fig. 177).[560] Fostering an

[557] 'Vecchiezza' seldom appears in modern Italian with 'vecchiaia,' being more popular. The continued usage of the term into the sixteenth century is demonstrated, however, by texts such as Paleotti's *Libro del Bene della Vecchiezza*. See Gabriele Paleotti, *Libro Del Bene Della Vecchiezza*. Roma: apprèsso Luigi Zannetti: a instanza di Giovanni Martinelli, 1597.
[558] The motto appears on the obverse of the silver *denaro* minted ca. 1180. It was changed to "*Sena Vetus, Civitas Virginis*" (Old Siena, city of the Virgin) for Sienese coins post-1279. See Giuseppe Toderi, "Problemi di Numismatica Senese: Le Fonti di Archivio e gli Zecchieri," in *Le Monete Della Repubblica Senese*. Cinisello Balsamo, Milano: Silvana editoriale, 1992, 30. See also Grossman, *Pro honore comunis senensis et pulchritudine* civitatis, 119 – 120.
[559] Siena is referred to as "*Civitatis Senarum, Venerabilis Civitatis*" in the *Memorialis offensarum,* written by Podesta Bernardo di Orlando Rossi in 1224. Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASS), *Podesta,* 1, f. 1lr, as cited in Grossman, *Pro honore comunis senensis et pulchritudine civitatis*, 121.
[560] Mario Ascheri, "Legislazione, statuti e sovranita," in Mario Ascheri ed., *Antica legislazione della Repubblica di Siena.* Siena, 1993, 19, as cited in Grossman, *Pro honore comunis senensis et pulchritudine civitatis*, 121. The figure is dressed in the black and white colors of the *Balzana* and labeled with the initials C.S.C.V., an abbreviation of "*Comune Senarum Civitas Virginum*."

identity as a gerontocratic republic the Sienese presented themselves as wise in matters of governance and law.

At the same time an embrace of caducity and infirmity was put forward as evidence of a collective piety. The fame of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala, for example, made Siena a well-known site for the care of ailing and vulnerable individuals. Caroline Walker Bynum has described at length Catherine of Siena's embrace of illness, her extreme fasting and consumption of the puss and filth that oozed from the wounds of the sick in her care at the hospital, all as part of the saint's attempts to fuse with the agony of Christ on the cross.[561] What to a modern might seem like an abhorrent practice, for a late medieval inhabitant of Siena it was precisely Catherine's *infermità* in conjunction with her care for the weak that underscored her sanctity.

In the case of saintly males, elderly and emaciated features could function as a source of charisma. This may be seen in the Sienese humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini's (Pope Pius II) fascinating description of the Observant Franciscan friar John of Capistrano in which the preacher's visibly aged body was emphasized:

> We saw him at Vienna when he was of the age of sixty-five. His elderly body was small and skinny and wasted, completely dry, held together only by skin, nerves, and bones. He was at the height of his happiness, however, and was laboring like the strongest of men, ceaselessly preaching every day on matters high and profound.[562]

In Piccolomini's account it was the visual contradiction between the appearance of John's elderly and gaunt body and the preacher's amazing ability to match the strength of powerful

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[561] Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, 165 – 180. For more on illness as a spiritual practice of holy women, see Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

[562] "quem pusillum corpore Viennae vidimus, aetate senecta annos, ut ipse aebat, quinque et sexaginta natum, siccum, aridum, exhaustum, sola cute neruisque & ossibus compactum, laetum tamen & in labore fortem, sine intermissione singulis diebus praedicanrem, altas atque profundas materias absoluentem." E. S. Piccolomini, *Historia rerum Friderici III Imperatoris,* J. G. Kulpius ed., Argentorati, typis & sumptibus Josiae Staedelii & Joh. Friderici Spoor, 1685, 43. The English translation is mine.

individuals, the almost superhuman abilities of such a seemingly ancient and frail creature, that provided evidence of sanctity.

The positive estimation of the aging body had a gendered dimension: it was most often associated with practices of male asceticism.[563] It was in this context that the elderly friar Bernardino degli Albizzeschi came to represent the ideal male citizen of the Sienese republic. Bernardino's highly respected status was in part due to his abilities as a public orator which led his contemporaries to portray the Franciscan preacher as a sort of Christian Cicero.[564] Here it is important to recall that Cicero himself was understood as a great defender of the values of the Roman Republic and his writings gained popularity in Siena during the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[565] In 1444, the same year Bernardino died, Francesco Patrizi's course on

[563] Stephen Campbell notes that depictions of the aging female body tended to be associated with vice. See Stephen J. Campbell, "Unruly Bodies: The Uncanny, the Abject, the Excessive," in in Thomas Kren, Jill Burke and Stephen J. Campbell eds., *The Renaissance Nude*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018, 276.

[564] Maffeo Vegio, "Vita Sancti Bernardini Senensis" in Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, (Rome, 1731-1886), vol. 10, 8, as cited in John W. Oppel, "Poggio, San Bernardino of Siena, and the Dialogue on Avarice." *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977), 568-569. Elsewhere Veggio enthusiastically described the preacher's skills as a public speaker: "He spoke with a smooth, clear, distinct and loud voice, expounding in solid, penetrating detail, like an overflowing stream…he was so sweet, and was able to mix pleasure with a certain gravity." (Quippe cui ita vox lenis, clara, sonora, distincta, explicata, solida, penetrans, plena, redundans, elevata, atque efficax erat; ut ad id, quod jussus susceperat proferendi in vulgus sermonis officium, recte illi ad nutum formata credi posset; quæ ita suavis erat, ut cum suavitate mixtam haberet dignam quamdam gravitatem.) See Maphaeus Vegius, "Vita II Antiquior," Maii V, Dies 20, 292. The English translation is mine. In his study on Bernardino's relationship to humanism Joseph Bernard noted that many aspects of Bernardino's *vita* echoed the life of Cicero, and remarked that the principles of the saint's oratory skills were based upon those of Cicero. See Joseph Bernard, *San Bernardino of Siena: His Relation to the Humanist World of the Early Italian Renaissance*, PhD Dissertation, Yale University, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1972 (73-14, 236), 33. For more on Bernardino's education in the *studia humanitatis* and his intimate contacts with a large number of humanists, many of whom admired him and his oratorical and rhetorical skill, see Mormando, "The Humanists, the Pagan Classics and Bernardino da Siena," 72 – 97; and Mormando, "To Persuade is a Victory," 55- 84.

[565] It should be noted that Ciceronian civic ideals have been linked to Sienese concepts of republicanism since at least the fourteenth century. Quentin Skinner argued that Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco of the *Allegory of Good Government* in the Sala della Pace of the Palazzo Pubblico (1338 – 40) embodied Cicero's claim that *concordia* and *aequitas* constituted the two *fundamenta* of public life. See Skinner, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as Political Philosopher," 34. In the aftermath following the expulsion of the Milanese governor and the restoration of a republican regime in 1404, Sienese officials would once again turn to Cicero as an important *exemplum* of civic conduct. This is especially evident in Taddeo di

Cicero's *Rhetorica* had been a major success with the local intellectual community at the Sienese *Studio*.[566] During his lifetime Bernardino had praised those Sienese youths that studied works by the Roman author, noting that "…these young people who study Cicero do well in learning how to become public orators (*favellare*)."[567] His attitude likely reflected actual schoolroom practice in Siena as Cicero's shorter moral treatises had become the most popular of the prose classics for grammar-school students in fifteenth-century Italy.[568]

During this same period Cicero's *De Senectute* (On Old Age) was circulating in Sienese humanist circles.[569] Bernardino was familiar with the text as his sermons and writings reveal an

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Bartolo's *uomini famosi* fresco cycle painted in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico between 1413 – 1414. Here the *titulus* associated with the figure of Cicero declares: "With my wisdom as consul I saved the homeland and all its citizens. At last the rebel Catiline was condemned to death for the salvation of sweet liberty. For this Cato called me Father of the homeland" (Ingeniis patriam propriis ego consul et omnes / Servavi cives tandem catilina rebellis / ad mortem dulci pro libertate coactus / Hinc cato me patriae patrem reliquique vocarunt) The English translation is mine. The reference to Catiline is in regards to the second Catilinarian conspiracy of 63 BCE, an attempt to overthrow the Roman Republic that had been led by Lucius Sergius Catilina. Cicero had been consul during the attempted coup and exposed the plot. Ciceronian iconography flourished throughout Sienese territory during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1429 during the height of tensions with Florence, a fresco cycle of *uomini famosi* that included an image of Cicero was commissioned for the Palazzo Residenza del Giudice Senese of the strategically located fortified town of Lucignano. Between 1507 and 1510, Vincenzo Tamagni similarly included a figure of Cicero in a fresco cycle at the hospital of Santa Maria della Croce at Montalcino. For Ascheri, these images were connected to concerns over maintaining Sienese *libertas*. See Mario Ascheri, "Tradizione Repubblicana e Iconografia di Cicerone a Siena," in *Atti del XIII Colloquium Tullianum, Milano, 27-29 Marzo 2008. Ciceroniana* 13 (2009), 195 – 200.

[566] Gianfranco Fioravanti, *Università e Città: Cultura Umanistica e Cultura Scolastica a Siena Nel '400*. Firenze: Sansoni, 1981, 136. See also Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 34.

[567] "…questi giovani che studiano el Ciciarone fanno bene per sapere favellare." Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari [di] San Bernardino da Siena: Predicazione del 1425 in Siena*, Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Firenze: Tipografia E. Rinaldi, 1958. Vol. I, 54. The English translation is mine.

[568] Robert Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*. Leiden, Netherlands; Boston Mass.: Brill, 2007, 49. Elsewhere Black notes that "It is one of the achievements of the Italian Renaissance to have restored *De amicitia, De senectute, Paradoxa stoicorum, Somnium Scipionis* and *De officiis* to the grammar-school curriculum, after two centuries of disuse." See Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 262.

[569] One of the early biographers of Bernardino, Barnaba di Nanni di Barna, had lent a copy of *De Senectute* to his Aretine friend Antonio di Simone di Niccolò Burletti. See Black, *Education and Society in Florentine Tuscany*, 72. The Franciscans at San Francesco also held a number of texts by Cicero in their library. For a late-fifteenth-century catalog of the library's contents, see Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century,* 50 – 165. *De Senectute* was very popular during

indebtedness to the ancient Roman orator. Bernardino paraphrased *De Senectute* when he complained that "everyone wishes to reach old age but nobody wants to be old," for Cicero had made precisely the same assessment: "To this class old age especially belongs, which all men wish to attain and yet reproach when attained."[570] Inverting the notion of old age as a time of frailty Bernardino argued that the senescent body provided an opportunity for the expiation of sin. He claimed that having lost one's teeth, an individual will talk and laugh less often, and be less inclined to lie or sully the good name of others. Weakened sight would relieve one of gluttony, avarice and lust. Lost hearing would make a person less able to listen to nonsense and more apt to read learned works, write, and gaze in silence at the works of God.[571] A similar claim appeared in *De Senectute* as well: "We come now to the third ground for abusing old age, and that is, that it is devoid of sensual pleasures. O glorious boon of age, if it does indeed free us

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the late medieval period and survives in over four hundred manuscripts, with all but fifty of these dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For more on the manuscripts see G. S. Vogel, *The Major Manuscripts of Cicero's de Senectute.* Chicago, 1939; L. D. Reynolds ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, 116 – 120; and Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De re publica; De legibus; Cato maior de senectute; Laelius de amicitia.* J. G. F. Powell ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

[570] "Senes fieri volunt omnes, senex esse vult nemo." Bernardino of Siena, "Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten: De calamitatibus et miseriis humanae vitae et maxime senectutis," in *S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia*. Tomus VII. (Quaracchi: Ad Claras Aquas, 1959), 253. "Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam." Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Senectute.* William Armistead Falconer trans. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923; 2014, 12 – 13. This Ciceronian adage had been cited by other late medieval authors, including Marbod of Rennes. Originally from Anjou, Marbod became Bishop of Rennes in 1096. Approaching his seventieth year, around 1102 Marbod composed a treatise in ten chapters which dealt with the range of human life. The fifth chapter is concerned with old age and recycles a number of Ciceronian claims. For example, at one point Marbod argued that "Cumque senectutem cupiant omnes adipisci / Accusant omnes et detestantur adeptam" (although all desire to arrive at old age, they all reprove and denounce it once achieved). See *Marbodi Liber decem capitulorum: Introduzione, testo, critic e commento*, Rosario Leotta ed. Rome: Herder, 1984, 5, 63 – 64, as cited in Juanita Feros Ruys, "Medieval Latin Meditations on Old Age: Rhetoric, Autobiography, and Experience," in Albrecht Classen ed., *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007, 181.

[571] Bernardino of Siena, "Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten: De calamitatibus et miseriis humanae vitae et maxime senectutis," 256 – 62, as cited in Shulamith Shahar, "The Old Body in Medieval Culture," in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin eds. *Framing Medieval Bodies*. Manchester England; New York: Manchester University Press; New York, 1994, 176.

from youth's most vicious fault!"[572] Petrarch, in his *Posteritati*, had also echoed these ideas when he declared that "Adolescence deceived me, young manhood corrupted me, old age corrected me."[573]

For Bernardino the spiritual calamities and miseries of old age, which included impatience, depression, ignorance, despondency, depravity, stupidity, and spiritual blindness, were qualities that especially afflicted those "evil old people" (*senibus malis*) who refused to embrace their condition.[574] The experience of senescence was therefore presented as a matter of moral conduct, an attitude also shared by Cicero:

> But as regards all such complaints, the blame rests with character, not with age. For old men of self-control, who are neither churlish nor ungracious, find old age endurable; while on the other hand perversity and an unkindly disposition render irksome every period of life.[575]

In fifteenth-century Siena such attitudes towards elders did not develop in a vacuum but very much reflected the political reality on the ground. In 1451 legislation was passed in the Sienese *Concistoro* that forbid any male citizen under fifty who was not engaged in some trade or

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[572] "Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum!" Cicero, *De Senectute*, 48 – 49. Marbod of Rennes had also inherited this attitude from Cicero: "Laudo senectutem quia turpes pellere motus / Noscitur et mundum servare libidine corpus / Tum quod inest senibus rerum prudentia maior / Et quod tranquillam sectantur amantque quietem" (I praise old age because it is known to repel dishonorable impulses and to preserve the body clean from lust; what characterizes old men is the greater judgment of things, and what they pursue and love is tranquil peace). See *Marbodi Liber decem capitulorum,* 5, 70 – 73, as cited in Ruys, "Medieval Latin Meditations on Old Age," 181.

[573] "Adolescentia me fefellit, iuventa corripuit, senecta autem correxit." Francesco Petrarca, *Lettera ai Posteri*, Gianni Villani ed. and trans. Rome: Salerno, 1990, 34. The English translation is from Christopher S. Celenza, "Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio," in *The Intellectual World of the Italian Renaissance: Language, Philosophy, and the Search for Meaning*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 29 – 30.

[574] "Primae, inquam, sunt calamitates et miseriae spirituales, et maxime in senibus malis. Et sunt septem: prima est impatientia; secunda, tristitia; tertia est ignorantia; quarta est tenebrositas; quinta, pravitas seu defectibilitas; sexta, insensibilitas; septima, caecitas." Bernardino of Siena, "Dominica XVI Post Pentecosten: De calamitatibus et miseriis humanae vitae et maxime senectutis," 244.

[575] "Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est." Cicero, *De Senectute*, 16 – 17.

profession or actively promoting work in Sienese territory from holding any communal office.[576] Young men in particular represented a distrusted demographic. The *titulus* associated with Taddeo di Bartolo's figures of *Pompey* and *Caesar* in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico lamented the fact that following the collapse of the Roman Republic it was a "child" that became the autocratic leader of Rome.[577] Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan has described at length the "somber image of young people" reflected in various texts from late-medieval Italy that linked bands of *giovani* to reprehensible behavior.[578] As Crouzet-Pavan noted, "To ensure the very survival of the community—a concern that runs through all the sermons of San Bernardino of Siena, for example—youth must be restrained."[579] Bernardino had publicly railed against the threat posed

[576] ASS, Concistoro 2118, f. 22v, as cited in Shaw, *Popular Government and Oligarchy in Renaissance Italy*, 7. The positive estimation of the role of elders in providing stable governance was paralleled in the writings of some of Siena's leading citizens. In Francesco Patrizi's ca. 1464 treatise *De Institutione Reipublicae* the factional division that plagued Siena was lamented while at the same time the stability of the institutions of the gerontocratic Venetian republic was praised: "Hoc exemplo complures civitates divisae sunt etiam temporibus nostris ut patria nostra Senensis…Verum ex inclyta quoque Venetorum Republica, in qua peregrinis nullus est locus, et tamen nec iustitia, nec severitas deest, et ex eiusmodi iuditiis nullae discordie, nullae seditionis, nullaeque inimicitiae oriuntur." F. Patrizi, *De Institutione Reipublicae libri novem* (Paris, 1534), fol. Xl recto (Bk. III.2), as cited in Nevola, *Siena: Constructing the Renaissance City*, 233, n. 188. On the Venetian republic as a gerontocracy, see Robert Finlay, "The Venetian Republic as a Gerontocracy: Age and Politics in the Renaissance." Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 8 (1978): 157 – 78. This legislation had common ground with ideas expressed in *De Senectute*, where Cicero lauded the political virtues of a gerontocracy: "If these mental qualities [reflection, reason, and judgment] were not characteristic of old men our fathers would not have called their highest deliberative body the "senate."…And indeed, if you care to read or hear foreign history, you will find that the greatest states have been overthrown by the young and restored by the old." (sed consilio ratione sententia, quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. Apud Lacedaemonios 20 quidem ei, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur, senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis). Cicero, *De Senectute*, 28 – 29.

[577] "Heu licet et puero caput alte scindere Rome" (and a child ascended to the head of Rome). For the full inscription and a translation see chapter two of this dissertation). The child mentioned was likely a reference to the youthful Gaius Octavius Thurinus who became Rome's first emperor following the end of the civil wars.

[578] Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, "A Flower of Evil: Young Men in Medieval Italy," in Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt eds., *A History of Young People in the West*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1997, vol. 1, 175.

[579] Crouzet-Pavan, "A Flower of Evil: Young Men in Medieval Italy," 173 – 174.

by "angelic youths" (*giovangeli*) participating in government.[580] He exhorted fathers to protect his "beautiful Siena" by recommending that young males be excluded from the community: "And if I had sons, this is what I would do with them. As soon as they were three, I would send them all out of Italy, and not allow them to return until they were forty."[581] Under the ferociously republican government of fifteenth-century Siena, senior male citizens came to be seen as a political bulwark against the threat of instability posed by the brashness of youth.[582]

The creation of images that presented Bernardino as a severe and elderly figure participated in the production of the gerontocratic values of the Sienese republic. The independent panel painted by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio in 1444 for the church of the Osservanza in Siena, for example, depicts the recently deceased friar with a stern visage suggesting the stoic *gravitas* so often praised by Cicero and Bernardino alike (Fig. 139). This Bernardine iconography was invented by a group of Sienese painters that, in addition to Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, included Lorenzo di Pietro, also known as Il Vecchietta, Sano di Pietro, and Stefano di Giovanni di Consolo, also known as Il Sassetta. In what follows I will focus in particular upon the work of Vecchietta in order to trace the development of a pictorial mode that reveals an interest in visualizing the aged male body. The claim I will advance is that by paying attention to how Vecchietta and his peers went about representing old age we may further an

[580] Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari [di] San Bernardino da Siena*, Ciro Cannarozzi ed. Pistoia: Alberto Pacinotti, 1934, vol. 1, 202.
[581] Bernardino of Siena, *Le prediche volgari di San Bernardino da Siena dette nella piazza del campo l'anno 1427*, L. Banchi ed., Siena: 1880, vol. 3, 261, as cited in Crouzet-Pavan, "A Flower of Evil: Young Men in Medieval Italy," 175.
[582] I borrow this description of the post-1404 government of Siena from Carl Brandon Strehlke: "In the early years of the fifteenth century a new, ferociously republican, government asserted its position by commissioning artistic monuments in which themes relating to Sienese historical traditions, such as the city's dedication to the Virgin, good government, and civic liberty were mixed." See Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 37.

assessment of the roles performed by these images within the wider pursuit of naturalism in fifteenth-century Sienese art.

A final goal of this chapter will be to demonstrate that the visualization of old age was linked not only to civic and saintly contexts, but to ideas of artistic self-fashioning as well. In an essay entitled *The Development of Realistic Painting in Siena*, John Pope-Hennessy claimed that "it was Vecchietta, not Domenico di Bartolo, who successfully adapted the discoveries of naturalism to specifically Sienese requirements and transmitted a predominantly realistic style to the painters of the later quattrocento."[583] Yet Pope-Hennessy did not delve into the details of what he had felt qualified Vecchietta's art as "naturalistic," let alone identify what the supposedly "specifically Sienese requirements" were. I believe one way in which Vecchietta advanced techniques of mimesis was through his convincing representation of senescent flesh. Such an interest in visualizing the effects of aging cannot be explained through outmoded notions of a generalized emerging Renaissance naturalism.[584] Instead, this phenomenon needs to be analyzed in terms of concerns that were specific to Siena. In many ways these developments were linked to the elevated status enjoyed by elders in the city at this time, particularly in relation to contemporary attitudes towards male sainthood and republican politics. Yet another facet of

[583] John Pope-Hennessy, "The Development of Realistic Painting in Siena-II." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 84.495 (1944), 143.

[584] In a recent study of Tuscan painting covering a span from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, Welleda Muller proposed a broad "paradigm shift" in the representation of senescence. For Muller, this shift was linked to a change in demographics towards a larger percentage of the population being of an advanced age. Yet the primary source employed by Muller for analyzing demographics was the Florentine *catasto* tax records beginning in 1427, which at best would only be useful in the study of a Florentine context. Muller glosses over subtle differences in the analysis of some 300 paintings produced "essentially around the cities of Florence, Siena, and Pisa." There is no attempt to dwell at any length upon how individual painters and sculptors actually went about visualizing aging effects, and the efforts of skilled artists at the local level become lost within the pursuit of a much larger teleology. See Welleda Muller, *Representations of Elderly People in the Scenes of Jesus' Childhood in Tuscan Paintings, 14th – 16th Centuries*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.

the phenomenon, however, encompassed issues of artistic identity, painterly style, and intentionality.

Vecchietta at Castiglione Olona: creating a visual distinction

In the mid-1430s the young Vecchietta was called to Lombardy by Branda da Castiglione. There the cardinal had gathered a team of artists to work on a series of projects distributed throughout his hometown of Castiglione Olona as part of a broader urban renewal scheme.[585] The well-established Florentine painter Masolino da Panicale was commissioned to paint episodes from the life of the Virgin in the vaults of the apse of La Collegiata, a church dedicated to Ss. Stephen and Lawrence (Fig. 178). In this project he was assisted by Vecchietta and the Florentine painter Paolo Schiavo.[586] Vecchietta painted the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* on the north wall of the apse of the Collegiata as well as some of the other figures on the surrounding walls (Figs. 179, 180). Around this time he was also commissioned to fresco the walls and vaults of a chapel dedicated to St. Martin located inside the cardinal's private residence at the nearby Palazzo Branda (Fig. 181).

While it has sometimes been suggested that during this period Vecchietta was an assistant in Masolino's workshop, he is more likely to have been a collaborator on relatively equal footing in the Collegiata project.[587] Examining Vecchietta's work at Castiglione Olona, Andrea de

[585] On the urban renewal of Castiglione Olona and the use of works of art to define space in the remodeled town, see Elsner, "Image and Site," 156-73.
[586] See Miklós Boskovits, "Ancora su Paolo Schiavo: Una scheda biografica e una proposta di catalogo," in *Arte Cristiana* 770 (September – October 1995), 332 – 40.
[587] Emma Micheletti refers to Paolo Schiavo and Vecchietta as "*allievi*" at Castiglione Olona. See Emma Micheletti, *Masolino da Panicale*. Milano: Istituto editoriale italiano, 1959, 42. Perri Lee Roberts similarly referred to Vecchietta as Masolino's "assistant." See Perri Lee Roberts, *Masolino da Panicale*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York, 1993, 150. Carl Strehlke claimed that between 1428 when Vecchietta enrolled in the Sienese painters' guild and 1439, when he was back working as a sculptor in the cathedral, the artist had likely joined Masolino's workshop. See Strehlke, "Vecchietta," 258. In contrast Paul Joannides placed the two artists on a more equal footing: "Vecchietta may also have been

Marchi argued that the Sienese artist made efforts to proclaim his independence by establishing a dialectic with the elder painter's work. Describing Vecchietta's ca. 1436 *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* (Fig. 179), de Marchi claimed that the artist had "polemically revived" (*rinverdisce polemicamente*) the concept of a continuum in the landscape that lay beyond the wall's fictive architectural framing, an element utilized by Masolino and Masaccio during the 1420s in the Brancacci chapel in Florence (Fig. 182).[588] Paul Joannides has similarly seen evidence of Vecchietta asserting his artistic distinctiveness in the Collegiata frescoes:

> Vecchietta's wall frescoes in the Collegiata…are un-Masolinesque in design and make use of extreme foreshortenings, a space and an architecture which are both more rational than Masolino's, and a figure-style which is wiry, tense and energetic, looking sideways to Sassetta and Giovanni di Paolo, and forward to the Pollaiuoli.[589]

Elsewhere, however, Joannides felt that the Sienese artist's work demonstrated a much closer affinity to the Florentine painter. Looking at the St. Martin chapel at the nearby Palazzo Branda Joannides claimed that "Vecchietta's vault figures in the [Palazzo Branda] chapel…are such close interpretations of Masolino's comparable figures in San Clemente and in the Baptistery [at the Collegiata], that a personal connection between the artists can hardly be doubted."[590]

Yet a number of features of the St. Martin chapel frescoes suggest that there, too, Vecchietta was attempting a self-conscious declaration of artistic independence. If Vecchietta had demonstrated his mastery of linear perspective in the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* at the Collegiata, in the cardinal's private chapel his work diverged dramatically from Masolino in

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Masolino's associate rather than pupil in the late 1420s or early 1430s." See Paul Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino: A Complete Catalogue*. London: Phaidon; New York, 1993, 248.

[588] "…che rinverdisce polemicamente, subentrando a Masolino, l'idea del *continuum* dei paesaggi oltre i partimenti architettonici della incorniciature, dalla cappella Brancacci." Andrea de Marchi, "La Cappella del cardinale affrescata da Lorenzo di Pietro, detto il Vecchietta," in *Lo Specchio di Castiglione Olona: Il Palazzo del Cardinale Branda e Il Suo Contesto*. Alberto Bertoni and Rosangela Cervini eds. Varese, Italy: Città di Castiglione Olona; Varese, 2009, 130.

[589] Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino*, 248.

[590] Joannides, *Masaccio and Masolino*, 248.

terms of its overall approach towards spatiality. The crowded gathering of *Holy Confessors* on the chapel's west wall provokes a claustrophobic response through its abundance of figures set directly in front of a wall that largely occludes access to the background scenery (Fig. 183). The space is flattened and seems purposefully distinguished from the deep perspective that divides Masolino's *Feast of Herod* from the *Presentation of the Head of John the Baptist to Herodias* in the baptistery at the Collegiata (Fig. 184). Elsewhere Vecchietta's construction of space seems to purposefully harken back to fourteenth-century Sienese precedents. The fictive architectural backdrop and arched doorway through which a procession of young women advances in the scene of the *Holy Virgins* on the north wall of the chapel recalls Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Entry into Jerusalem* from the *Maestà* altarpiece, where one witnesses a similar procession passing through an arched doorway set before a schematized cityscape (Figs. 185, 186).

These differences also play out in terms of the overall approach to the body on the part of the two artists. While the long necks, smooth porcelain-like complexions, and simple volumetric forms of the young women at the right of Vecchietta's fresco of the *Holy Virgins* certainly recall Masolino's elegant and refined figures, as seen for instance in his *Presentation of the Head of John the Baptist to Herodias* on the south wall of the baptistery at the Collegiata (Fig. 187), at other times Vecchietta made efforts to differentiate his figures from those of the elder Florentine painter. Amongst the group of women at the left in the scene of the *Holy Virgins* appear three individuals dressed in a blue and white head veil and greyish drapery (Fig. 188). Vecchietta depicted these figures from three different perspectives: a full-frontal pose seen in the fourth figure from the left, a three-quarter posture in the sixth, while the seventh from the left adopts a profile stance. Their facial forms are slightly more differentiated from the surrounding individuals, particularly through the use of dark eyes and slightly aquiline noses. The common

attire and facial physiognomies of these three figures suggests that Vecchietta may have been performing a study of a single individual from three different points of view. This aspect of Vecchietta's work at Castiglione Olona has been remarked upon in the past, with Henk van Os noting that "each individual figure is a study in itself, which is why the composition as a whole sometimes looks like a collection of studio models."[591]

The group of *Holy Confessors* on the chapel's west wall seem to be even more purposefully distinguished from Masolino's approach to the body. To the right are four men who are visually distinguished from one another primarily through differences in age (Fig. 189). An adolescent male dressed in white stares directly out towards the beholder, his youth suggested by his smooth, blemish-free complexion, rosy cheeks and the pink lips of a rather small mouth. Next to this figure stands an adult male dressed in white who is shown with his head turned slightly downwards in a three-quarter profile. This individual's mature status is indicated through the slightly wrinkled brow, the appearance of bags under the eyes, and hints of whiskers and age-lines on his cheeks and chin. To this man's left stands another figure dressed in greyish-blue drapery who holds a baton in his right hand while carrying a red book in his left. Here the long, grey beard, pronounced frontal suture of the forehead, and thick eyebrows are suggestive of the onset of old age. The last individual in this group is clearly the oldest. His advanced age is implied by the manner in which he supports himself with both hands set upon a walking stick, and the fact that his hair and beard are almost pure white while thick eyebrows droop down over a pair of tired-looking eyes encircled by a profusion of wrinkles. In some ways these four individuals recall the medieval tradition of the Ages of Man (*aetates hominum*), as seen for

[591] Henk van Os, "Vecchietta and the Persona of the Renaissance Artist," in Irving Lavin and John Plummer eds., *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*. New York: New York University Press, 1977, vol. 1, 450.

instance in a folio from the early fourteenth-century De Lisle Psalter (Fig. 190).[592] In the four corners of this page appear figures that represent different stages of life. From the bottom left are infancy (*infantia*) followed by maturity (*iuventus*), old age (*senectus*) and decrepitude (*decrepitus*).[593] In the folio from the De Lisle psalter, age was indicated primarily through the presence or lack of facial hair as well as each individual's posture, with the weakness of infancy and decrepitude suggested by their prostrated positions. In comparison Vecchietta's figures rely upon the use of descriptive elements such as the increasing presence of wrinkled and weathered skin in order to depict the phases of adolescence (*adolescentia*), maturity (*iuventus*), seniority (*senioris*) and old age (*senectus*).[594]

By representing individuals at different life stages Vecchietta was able to distinguish his work from the more idealized and elegant figures of the Florentine tradition, as represented by Masolino's *Feast of Herod* on the south wall of the Baptistery at the Collegiata (Fig. 191).[595] Even when Masolino attempted to depict senescence, as in the case of the two elderly figures

[592] Remnants of the De Lisle Psalter (Arundel MS 83 II) are currently bound with an independent Psalter and Hours known as the Howard Psalter (Arundel MS 83 I). The manuscript is kept in the British Library. The folio containing the Wheel of the Ten Ages of Man is f. 126v.

[593] Each of the ten wheels surrounding the central image of Christ contains vignettes depicting life events corresponding to the four different ages depicted in the corners. For a more in-depth account of the De Lisle Psalter's Wheel of the Ten Ages of Man in relation to medieval concepts of time, see Kathryn A. Smith, "Concepts of Time," in *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours*. London: British Library; Toronto; Buffalo, 2003, 57 – 151.

[594] According to Isidore of Seville, *adolescentia* represented the age range of 14 – 21, *iuventus* the years 21 – 49, *senioris* or *gravitas* corresponded to 50 – 72 years, and *senectus* the years from 72 until death. See Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012, 34. For more on the tradition of the *aetates hominum*, see Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986, and John Anthony Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*. Oxford Oxfordshire: Clarendon Press, 1986.

[595] In a related argument Stephen Campbell has noted how Vecchietta populated his paintings with "wiry and emaciated, even cadaverous figures" that seem pointedly distinguished from the elegant or heroic figures of the Florentine tradition. See Stephen J. Campbell, "O Sacro Corpo: Devotional Images and the Art of Sanctity," in *Cosmè Tura of Ferrara: Style, Politics and the Renaissance City, 1450-1495*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997, 70.

seated at Herod's table, a state of advanced age was indicated primarily through the use of a long white beard or balding head (Fig. 192). The faces appear smoother and blemish-free. Any indication of wrinkles is highly stylized, as in the rounded creases on the forehead of the balding man on the left that echo the figure's arched eyebrows. Unlike Vecchietta's old man, who must support himself upon his walking stick and whose weary face appears fatigued from his ongoing struggle against gravity, Masolino's figures seem largely untroubled by the effects of aging. In comparison to Vecchietta's convincing representation of old age, Masolino's figures appear like immobile porcelain dolls sitting at a table.

Vecchiezza as a pictorial mode

Vecchietta would further develop an interest in portraying the aged body upon his return to Siena. In 1445 he was commissioned to work on a cover for the sacristy cupboard (*armadio*) housing a group of precious relics that were purchased by the Sienese hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in 1359.[596] Known as the *Arliquiera,* it is a large structure composed of an immobile

[596] The Constantinople-based merchant Pietro di Giunta Torrigiani was paid 3000 gold florins and a house in Siena in exchange for the relics. See Giovanna Derenzini, "Le reliquie da Constantinopoli a Siena," in Luciano Bellosi ed., *L'Oro di Siena: Il Tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala*, Milan: Skira, 1996, 67 – 73. With this acquisition, Santa Maria della Scala came to hold some of the most important relics in all of Italy. A number of the Byzantine metalwork reliquaries from this purchase survive in the hospital to this day, as well as a highly ornate metal cover for a Greek Gospel. For a recent discussion of these objects, see Ashley Jane Elston, "Caring for the Saints and the Faithful: The Reliquary Cupboard for the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena," in *Storing Sanctity: Sacristy Reliquary Cupboards in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy.* PhD Dissertation, University of Kansas, 2011, 122 – 124. On 30 August 1443, Pope Eugenius IV granted new indulgences to those visiting the hospital's collection of relics, spurring the construction beginning that same year of a new sacristy for the hospital church of Santa Maria della Annunziata. The sacristy is now often referred to as the 'old' sacristy. On the indulgences, see ASS, *Archivio Ospedale Santa Maria della Scala*, nr. 120 (Chiesa, Sacre Reliquie), f. 430r, as cited in H. W. van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church; a Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism*. 's-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij; New York, 1974*,* 92, n. 1. A niche was built into the south wall in the sacristy to house the relics, which was then covered and protected by Vecchietta's painted wooden framework. Unfortunately changes made to the sacristy in 1610 have made it impossible to be certain about the original arrangement. See Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 17 – 18, and Elston, "Caring for the Saints and the Faithful," 129 – 130.

wooden frame enclosing two double-sided doors and surmounted by a lunette (Fig. 193).[597] Vecchietta was assisted in this project by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, the same artist who had painted the earliest surviving independent panel of Bernardino of Siena for the basilica of the Osservanza.[598]

The *Arliquiera* is currently displayed in such a manner that the beholder can walk around the entire structure making both sides of the doors visible. When seen from the front, four panels make up the lunette which from left to right show the angel *Gabriel*, the *Crucifixion*, the *Resurrection*, and the *Virgin Annunciate* (Fig. 194). The main body below the lunette is

[597] Today the *Arliquiera* is held in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Siena. In its double-sided structure the *Arliquiera* looked back to the wooden doors painted by Benedetto di Bindo in 1412 for the *armadio* housing the relics kept in the cathedral's sacristy. The front panels of this structure depict a series of thirty-two half-length angels isolated in their respective compartments against a golden background. Each of the eight doors of the cupboard depicts four angels and measures approximately 137 cm x 99 cm. The angels hold fictive unfurled scrolls that list the names of saints as well as specific relics, such as "wood from the True Cross" (lingo sci.crucis) and "Virgin's milk" (latte v.gine). The surviving inventories of the cathedral indicate that these textual inscriptions closely corresponded to the collection of objects held in the cupboard. The painted scrolls therefore likely functioned as *authentica* for the contents of the niche, standing in for the small slips of paper that were traditionally used to identify and authenticate relics. On the reverse side of the doors from Bindo's *Arliquiera* are eight panels representing the *Legend of the True Cross*. Like Vecchietta's Passion cycle, these interior images would be revealed whenever the cupboard was open. Unlike Bindo's structure, however, the front panels below the lunette of Vecchietta's *Arliquiera* gave little overt indication of the nature of the objects contained within. On the relationship between the fictive scrolls and the relics contained within Bindo's *Arliquiera*, see Barbara Tavolari, *Museo dell'Opera, Siena: Paintings*. Cinisello Balsamo Milano: Silvana, 2007, 72 – 83. On *authentica*, see Henri Leclercq, "Authentiques de Reliques," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.* Paris: Letouzey, 1948, 2338 – 2343. For a summary of the surviving relic inventories of Siena's cathedral, see Elston, "Revelation Reenacted: Benedetto di Bindo's Reliquary Cupboard for Siena Cathedral," in *Storing Sanctity*, 87 – 89. For more on Benedetto di Bindo's *Arliquiera*, see Pèleo Bacci, *Fonti e Commenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese; Dipinti e Sculture in Siena, Nel Suo Contado ed Altrove*. Siena: Accademia degli Intronati, 1944, 195 – 229, and more recently the catalog entry Silvia Colucci, "Benedetto di Bindo," in Seidel ed. *Le Arti a Siena nel Primo Rinascimento*, 124.

[598] A third assistant name Sano d'Andrea was also involved in the project. A document dating to 29 December 1445 records final payments for the panels: "Maestro Lorenzo di Pietro dipentore da Siena, die avere a dì 29 di dicembre lire trecento ottanta per huopera fatta di suo cholori e oro nel Armario, ne l'armario e altare ne la Sagrestia grande nella nostra Chiesa grande, e per dipentura anchora l'oriuolo fatto d'achordo cho'misser Urbano nostro rettore…" See Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 17. The names of both Sano d'Andrea and Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio are mentioned in the documents of payment. See Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 28.

composed of two horizontal rows of six panels set on top of one another (Fig. 195). These depict a series of saints and local *beati*, all isolated against shimmering golden backgrounds. During ostentations, when the doors were opened to reveal the relics contained within their niche, the reverse side of the doors displayed a Passion cycle composed of eight scenes (Fig. 196).[599] When opened this cycle would have framed the relics held in the niche of the cupboard, their imagery emphasizing the Christological items contained within.[600] The lunette above would remain visible whether the doors were open or closed and its rendition of the *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection* completed the Passion cycle.[601]

Instead of advertising the relics contained in the *armadio,* the main panels on the front of the structure promoted the long-established four patron saints of Siena as well as a number of more recently deceased local *beati*.[602] On the immobile frame were the early Christian martyrs *Ansano* and *Vittore* on the left and *Savino* and *Crescenzio* on the right (Figs. 197, 198, 199,

[599] When facing these panels today the door on the left initiates the cycle, although originally this would have been the door on the right when the cupboard was open. At the top are images of the *Last Supper* and *Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*, while below are the *Betrayal* and the *Trial Before Caiaphas*. On the upper panels of the opposite door are the *Trial Before Herod* and the *Flagellation*, while below are the *Mocking of Christ* and *Christ Carrying the Cross.* On records of specific ostentations of the hospital relics, see Elston, "Caring for the Saints and the Faithful," 143 – 147.

[600] Amongst the prestigious Christological relics to be found in the hoard were the nail that pierced Christ's left hand, strands of hair from his beard, a piece of the purple cloak worn during the mocking of Christ, and pieces of the sponge, lance, and True Cross. See ASS, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Atto di donazione rogato a Venezia il 28 maggio 1359, as cited in Isabella Gagliardi, "Le reliquie dell'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala (XIV-XV secolo)," in Bellosi ed., *L'Oro di Siena*, 51. See also Derenzini, "Le reliquie da Constantinopoli a Siena," 73-78.

[601] The *Annunciation* on either side of this scene referenced the Marian relics that were also kept in the niche. These relics included part of Mary's mantle, veil and girdle, as well as the bones of a number of important saints. See ASS, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Atto di donazione rogato a Venezia il 28 maggio 1359, as cited in Isabella Gagliardi, "Le reliquie dell'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala (XIV-XV secolo)," in Bellosi ed., *L'Oro di Siena*, 51.

[602] The earliest surviving inventory of the hospital dates to 1575, and demonstrates that by this date the sacristy held no relics of those saints and *beati* represented on the *Arliquiera* in its closed state. See Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 18. For the full inventory, see Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 81 – 88.

200).[603] On the moveable doors was the series of *beati*. Painted on the left door were Sienese representatives of the mendicant orders.[604] On the upper left portion is *Ambrogio Sansedoni* (d. 1286), a Dominican famous in Siena for his love of charity and role in caring for the sick at the hospital (Fig. 201). He faces the Observant Franciscan *Bernardino of Siena* (Fig. 202). Below Sansedoni is the Dominican tertiary *Caterina di Giacomo di Benincasa* (d. 1380), while the Franciscan tertiary *Pier Pettinaio* (d. 1289) stands beneath Bernardino (Figs. 203, 204). On the right door are images of four different founders. The upper left panel depicts *Agostino Novello* (d. 1309), an individual celebrated for having organized the lay brothers of the hospital as tertiary Augustines (Fig. 205). He is shown in the act of granting the robes of the order to the kneeling rector of the hospital Ristoro di Giunta Menghi.[605] To the right is *Andrea Gallerani* (d. 1251), a Sienese nobleman who had founded the charitable organization and hospital of the Confraternità di Santa Maria della Misericordia in the thirteenth century (Fig. 206). Below *Agostino Novello* appears the *Blessed Sorore*, a ninth-century cobbler and legendary founder of the hospital (Fig. 207).[606] Next to him is *Galgano* (d. 1181), a twelfth-century knight who

[603] Savinus (died ca. 300) was the city's first bishop, Ansanus (died ca. 304) was the first to baptize the people of Siena and its *contado*, and the Sienese scored a major victory against Montepulciano on 14 May 1229, the feast day of Victor (died ca. 170). Crescentius (died ca. 303) was a child martyr around whom a popular cult developed in Siena. Tradition held that his body was translated from Rome to Siena ca. 1058. In the fourteenth century four altars dedicated to each patron saint were constructed at the east end of the Cathedral. On the altars and their respective altarpieces, see Diana Norman, *Painting in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena, 1260-1555*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003, 111 – 118.
[604] Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 19.
[605] Ristoro di Giunta Menghi was elected rector in November of 1294. See Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 21.
[606] The earliest written account of Blessed Sorore appears in a 1585 publication by Fra Gregorio Lombardelli. See Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero, *Lo Spedale di Santa Maria Della Scala in Siena: Vicenda di una Committenza Artistica*. Pisa: Pacini, 1985*,* 49. Sorore's body had been discovered in the fifteenth century and was subsequently buried in the hospital, yet no documentary evidence survives to support the account of the hospital's foundation. See Isabella Gagliardi, "Bisanzio a Siena: Importazione di reliquie, culti e rappresentazione civica tra Trecento e Quattrocento," in *Taumaturgia e Miracoli: Tra alto e basso medievo*, Patrizia Castelli and Salvatore Geruzzi eds. Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2007, 136, as cited in Elston, "Caring for the Saints and the Faithful," 118.

planted his sword into a rock in the woods at nearby Chiusdino thereby transforming the instrument of war into the sign of the cross (Fig. 208).[607] *Galgano* was considered to be a founder of the thirteenth-century Cistercian abbey at Chiusdino.

Previous scholarship on the *Arliquiera* has repeatedly remarked upon the "propagandistic" nature of the front doors. Henk van Os referred to these images as "visual propaganda for local saints," noting that the hospital in Siena was the site where religious patriotism was especially cultivated.[608] Carl Brandon Strehlke cited the *Arliquiera* as evidence that "Siena was building a pantheon of *famosi cives* with holy men, not poets."[609] Similarly, Gerald Parsons described the phenomenon as evidence of a developing "Sienese civic pantheon."[610] Building on Parsons chosen terminology, Diana Norman referred to the new *beati* as '*santi cittadini*.'[611] Ashley Jane Elston thought that the *Arliquiera* would have functioned as a promotional tool bolstering the city's image to pilgrims visiting the hospital.[612]

Strehlke's choice of the term '*famosi cives*' seems particularly apt for the saints and *beati* depicted on the front of the *Arliquiera.* For the arrangement of figures recalls accounts of the

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[607] Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 21.
[608] The hospital initially became the primary site where this form of religious patriotism was practiced through the worship of relics. With the restoration of the republic in 1404, the new governors borrowed the head and other relics of Galgano from the Cistercians at Chiusdino, placing them on temporary display in the hospital church. For van Os, this form of "hagiographic chauvinism" was linked to the development of growing parochial attitudes in fifteenth-century Siena as the city became more occupied with internal affairs at the expense of foreign engagement. See Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 22 – 23.
[609] Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 42.
[610] Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion, and the Sienese*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004, 18.
[611] Diana Norman, "*Santi cittadini*: Vecchietta and the Civic Pantheon in Mid-Fifteenth-Century Siena," in Timothy B. Smith and Judith B. Steinhoff eds. *Art as Politics in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*. Surrey; Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2012, 115 – 140.
[612] Elston noted that lay access to the sacristy and its relics was perhaps easier in the hospital than in larger churches such as the cathedral: "this makes the propagandistic element of the *armadio*'s exterior panels even more powerful, as pilgrims from far-flung areas could have been confronted with images of their host city's impressive roster of protectors." Elston, "Caring for the Saints and the Faithful," 131 – 132.

imagines of venerated ancestors displayed in cupboards (*armaria*) found in the atria of ancient Roman households.[613] The composition also harkens back to the earlier fresco cycle of *uomini famosi* painted by Taddeo di Bartolo in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico where a group of famous men from the Roman Republic were similarly arranged in fictive niches set against a shimmering golden background and standing upon a ground of painted imitation marble (Fig. 63).[614] These formal similarities are likely more than coincidental. The emphasis upon patron saints of the commune and local *beati* reflects the hospital's changed status as a civic institution. As noted in Chapter Two, for most of its early history the hospital had remained an independent organization. Following a fiscal crisis in the 1420s, an ordinance was issued in 1433 that granted the *reggimento* oversight of the hospital's affairs. Like the sculptural program of the Loggia della Mercanzia, the *Arliquiera* advertised this new arrangement by utilizing an iconographic program associated with the communal government.

Looking more closely at the *beati* on the *Arliquiera* it becomes evident that they are clearly distinguished from the Early Christian patron saints in a number of intriguing ways. For

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[613] An elite Roman's ancestors would confront their descendants daily through their *imagines* in the form of wax masks, busts, and painted portraits that would stare out from the cupboards (*armaria*) within the household atrium. See Sinclair Bell, "Introduction," in Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen eds. *Role Models in the Roman World: Identity and Assimilation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008, 8. These objects functioned as *exempla*, and were the basic means of transmitting practical ethics to new generations through their acting as role models that could be emulated. See Clive Skidmore, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen: The Work of Valerius Maximus*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996, 3.

[614] That Vecchietta may have been inspired by Taddeo's earlier fresco cycle should not come as a surprise, for parallels between the practices of both artists have been suggested in the past. Henk van Os, for instance, claimed that a figure painted by Vecchietta in the choir chapel of the Collegiata at Castiglione Olona was a self-portrait. The man is dressed in fifteenth-century garb and looks out from a fictive window towards a painted image of the *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, the name saint for Vecchietta. For van Os, the inclusion of a self-portrait by the artist was a recapitulation of Taddeo di Bartolo's earlier insertion of his persona in the guise of his name saint in the painter's *Assumption* altarpiece at Montepulciano. See van Os, "Vecchietta and the Persona of the Renaissance Artist," 449-450. The idea that both artists may have included self-portraits in works made in foreign territories is intriguing, and may have arisen from a common desire to assert their presence, promote their work, and memorialize their authorship to an unfamiliar audience.

the art historian Henk van Os, these variations could be explained by the involvement of less than competent assistants:

> Compared to the saints in the middle the four patron saints of the city are mere outlines and express a lesser power of visualization on the part of the artist. The modelling of their faces sometimes attains a metallic hardness, which is exactly what Vecchietta managed to avoid in the figures on the doors…All these and like observations sadly enough do not result in an answer to the question of whether one, two or three pupils cooperated in the decoration of the frame.[615]

Rather than indicating artistic shortcomings, however, I consider these and other variations to be purposeful modulations of form. The different pictorial modes employed on the front of the *Arliquiera* seem to have been adapted first and foremost in order to create visual distinctions between different classes of saintly individuals.[616] Of the figures shown on the two doors only *Galgano* had been officially canonized by 1445, hence he is the only individual to have been given a full halo similar to those assigned to the four early Christian martyrs.[617] In contrast, all of

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[615] Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 29.

[616] These discrepancies correspond to the two-tier status in the cult of saints that André Vauchez has identified as a defining feature of sainthood in the later middle ages. During the fourteenth century, a rising frustration over the papacy's inability or unwillingness to formally canonize saints promoted by local communities led to the ad hoc creation of two levels of sainthood: "on the one hand, a small number of canonized saints who were officially permitted a public cult; on the other, a multitude of local devotions developing outside the control of the Roman Church." See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 84. During the second half of the fourteenth century, the main difference in devotional practice between *sancti* and *beati* was that the latter could not enjoy a public cult. In the fifteenth century, beatification had not yet attained a clearly defined juridical status as it would under Urban VIII (1634). In 1487, the Italian jurist Troilo Malvezzi defined *beati* as persons venerated by the faithful but "whose anniversary is not celebrated, in whose memory no office is said, and to whom no church is dedicated" (Sed dicitur beatus cuius nec dies mortis nec officium in eius memoriam celebrator, nec etiam ecclesia sibi dedicator). Troilo Malvezzi, *De sanctorum canonizatione opusculum*. Bologna, 1487, c. 32, as cited in Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 98. As noted by Vauchez, even this distinction was not always adhered to and it appears there was some leniency when it came to veneration of *beati*, for instance in the granting of personal offices. See Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 95. All of the *beati* on the front of the *Arliquiera* were representatives of the so-called "new saints" that emerged in the Italian communes during the late middle ages. These were not the martyrs of Early Christianity but individuals, often women and men from recent memory, whose cults had been approved by local religious authorities but not at the level of the papacy.

[617] Galgano was canonized in 1185 by Pope Lucius III. For more on Galgano's canonization process, see Fedor Schneider ed., "Der Einsiedler Galgano von Chiusdino und die Anfänge von San Galgano," in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 17 (1914 – 1924), 61 – 77, and

the other *beati* on the doors are instead shown with beatific rays emanating from behind their heads.[618] In addition, there is a dramatic shift in the palette used to depict these figures. The clothing worn by the fully canonized saints is characterized by combinations of brilliant vermilion, soft pink, various shades of blue, verdigris, violet, umber, and lead white. The robes worn by *Savino, Ansano* and *Vittore* are also trimmed in brilliant gold. In contrast, the palette used for the *beati* is much more monochrome with the dominant colors being earthy greys, white, umber and black. Only small highlights of color appear sporadically amongst these figures, for instance in the red worn by the angel whispering in *Agostino Novello's* ear and in the book held by *Ambrogio Sansedoni*, or in the ultramarine blue and gold of *Bernardino's tavoletta*.

A further distinction may be drawn between the figures on the doors and the early Christian martyrs on the frame, and that is the level of activity in which each figure is engaged. *Ambrogio Sansedoni* listens intently to the dove whispering in his ear, *Bernardino* displays his *tavoletta*, *Catherine* focuses her attention upon an image of the crucified Christ, *Pier Pettinaio* keeps his finger to his lips, the *beato* Sorore appears lost in prayer, *Agostino Novello* is caught in the midst of handing over the robes to the rector, *Andrea Gallerani* concentrates on his prayer beads, and *Galgano* is fixated upon placing his sword in the stone. By contrast all of the early Christian martyrs appear much more static and disengaged. In fact, they do not appear to be doing anything at all apart from standing in their assigned places. What might be said as defining

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Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2007, 71 – 72.

[618] The distinction between haloes used for saints and the rays employed for *beati* is a documented practice. In 1487 the Italian jurist Troilo Malvezzi noted that the best proof that a distinction existed between the saints and the blessed was that "painters represent a beato with rays, and the true saints with a halo round the head" (pingunt imaginem beati cum radiis, sancti vero cum diademate circum caput ut inter eos appareat differentia). Malvezzi, *De sanctorum canonizatione opusculum*, c. 32, as cited in Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, 98.

the *beati* as a group, then, is a sense of the passage of time. The canonized saints, on the other hand, appear to occupy a timeless realm.

Complementary to this distinction between timelessness and temporally bound individuals is a shift from a highly-idealized form of representation towards a more mimetic pictorial mode. *Ansano* and *Crescenzio* possess smooth and blemish-free physiognomies achieved through the use of perfectly arched eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, rosy pink cheeks, and tiny mouths. As a result the figures seem almost to be made of ceramic, accounting for the so-called "metallic hardness" that van Os had associated with the facial features of the early Christian martyrs. While *Vittore* and *Savino* possess facial hair and slight suggestions of wrinkles, their features are still quite generalized. Overall it is a pictorial mode that evokes that used by Masolino at Castiglione Olona.

In comparison, the *beati* are more individualized through the use of varied facial features showing figures at different stages of life. The youthful countenances of *Sorore, Agostino Novello, Galgano,* and *Catherine of Siena* are closely juxtaposed with the elderly *beati* that surround them, the proximity emphasizing the aged features of these figures. *Bernardino of Siena* is shown in a three-quarter posture with his head tilted downward towards his right. The shading and profusion of wrinkles around the eyes make them seem deeply set which when combined with his sunken cheeks gives him an undernourished appearance (Fig. 209). More wrinkles emerge around his toothless and downturned mouth while his neck appears frail due to the representation of loose flaps of crumpled skin and protruding tendons. These features combined with his lithe frame are suggestive of Bernardino's well known ascetic lifestyle as well as his elderly status.[619] It is a representational mode that bears a number of striking parallels to

[619] Enea Silvio Piccolomini noted that Bernardino's appearance was emaciated because he wasted away due to his fasting: "fuit homo macerrimus, nam jejuniis se extenuavit," E. S. Piccolomini, *De viris*

Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's independent panel painted for the Osservanza in 1444 (Fig. 139).

Below *Bernardino*, the figure of *Pier Pettinaio* is also shown possessing the white hair and frail, withered neck of an old man (Fig. 210). Lines on the exposed left cheek are indicative of loosely hanging flesh while a proliferation of wrinkles surround his eyes, giving him a haggard appearance. The bone structure is visible beneath the thin skin of the hand raised up to his mouth. The decision to render *Pettinaio* as an elder may be explained, at least in part, by the fact that there was no pre-existing established iconography for the *beato* and that he was thought to have died at a very advanced age.[620] The same cannot be said, however, for the figure of *Andrea Gallerani*. For this *beato* possessed a well-established iconographical tradition. The earliest surviving images of Gallerani appear in a pair of ca. 1250 - 1275 double-sided panels that have been attributed to the circle of Guido da Siena (Figs. 211, 212).[621] In these images

illustribus, 1445 – 1449, ed. A. van Heck, Vatican City, 1991, 40, as cited in Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," 105.

[620] This figure is the first known image of the *beato* in Sienese painting, and Vecchietta appears to have invented the iconography of the finger held up to the lips in order to visualize Pier's vow of silence. Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church,* 20.

[621] These also likely originally functioned as reliquary shutters, and today they are found in the Pinacoteca Nazionale. The provenance of the shutters is unknown. Cesare Brandi dated the works to 1250 – 1260. See Cesare Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca Di Siena.* Roma: Libr. dello Stato, 1933, 114 – 115. Enzo Carli thought they may have come from the church of San Domenico in Siena where the remains of Gallerani were entombed. See Enzo Carli, *Guide to the Pinacoteca of Siena*. Milano: Martello, 1958, 19. Cathleen Hoeniger dated the panels to ca. 1275. See Cathleen Hoeniger, "Simone Martini's Panel of the Blessed Agostino Novello: the Creation of a Local Saint," in Bourdua and Dunlop eds. *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*, 69 – 72. In the closed position, Gallerani appears on the left panel standing before a cityscape while on the right a group of impoverished pilgrim supplicants approach the standing *beato*. On the reverse side, the lower portion of the left panel shows Gallerani praying before a crucifix while above is an image of St. Dominic praying for the recovery of the blessed Reginald. On the lower portion of the right panel Gallerani is presented in the act of giving out alms to the poor, the upper section showing St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. Cathleen Hoeniger has argued that the visual comparisons drawn between Dominic, Francis and Gallerani on these panels represents a strategy of promoting the Sienese *beato* through the inclusion of references to much more famous saints, what Hoeniger calls a "method of character enhancement." See Hoeniger, "Simone Martini's Panel of the Blessed Agostino Novello," 69 – 72.

Gallerani was given the features of a mature male with brown hair and hints of a short beard.[622] Some elements from the *Arliquiera* demonstrate an affinity with Guido da Siena's panels. *Gallerani* possesses similar miniscule hands, for instance, and he wears two-toned robes and boots that evoke those worn by the earlier figure. In his hands he holds a pan and prayer beads, the forms of which mirror the attributes seen in Guido da Siena's panels. Perhaps it was elements such as these that led the art historian Jasmin Cyril to conclude that the *Arliquiera* displays "a tendency in Sienese painting to accept as canonical the earliest images of a saint or *beato* and thereafter to preserve the iconography."[623]

Yet this assessment does not acknowledge the ways in which the figure of *Gallerani* from the *Arliquiera* also dramatically departed from Guido da Siena's precedent. In particular, he has been imbued with some of the same convincingly rendered signs of advanced age that were utilized for the figures of *Bernardino* and *Pier Pettinaio*. *Gallerani* possesses an emaciated neck composed of tendons and thyroid cartilage that is visible beneath deeply corrugated skin (Fig. 213). Crow's feet are extended to become wrinkles that completely surround his deep-set eyes. Creases appear on either side of the mouth and the exposed left cheek, suggesting sagging flesh. Instead of the usual long brown locks we only see hints of white hair escaping from beneath *Gallerani's* cap. Rather than revealing a tendency to "preserve" established iconography, by

[622] Another independent panel found in the Pinacoteca and attributed to the workshop of Simone Martini similarly depicts a standing Andrea Gallerani, who once again is shown with a thin beard and brown hair. This image is likely the one mentioned in *La Vita del beato Andrea Gallerani* written by Raimondo Barbi in 1638 which describes "una figura" of the *beato* that was located at that time on an altar of San Pellegrino alla Sapienza, the church of the hospital of Santa Maria della Misericordia that Gallerani had helped found. See Elisabetta Avanzati, "Beato Andrea Gallerani," in Alessandro Bagnoli and Luciano Bellosi eds., *Simone Martini e Chompagni.* Firenze: Centro Di, 1985, 78 – 81.
[623] Jasmin W. Cyril, "The Effigy," in *The Imagery of San Bernardino da Siena, 1440 – 1500: an Iconographic Study*. PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: UMI, 1991 (9208524), 19.

depicting *Gallerani* as an elderly male Vecchietta and Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio made a clear break with iconographical tradition.[624]

The reform of male saints as elders in Sienese territory and beyond

As previously noted, a number of elements from the front panels of the *Arliquiera* suggest that Vecchietta and Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio were looking back to the precedent set by Taddeo di Bartolo's *uomini famosi* frescoes in the antechapel of the Palazzo Pubblico. In addition to the figures appearing upon a ground of imitation marble and standing in fictive niches against a gilded backdrop, the pictorial mode utilized for the figures of *Andrea Gallerani, Pier Pettinaio,* and *Bernardino of Siena* evokes Taddeo's wrinkled and haggard figures. These combined elements suggest that Vecchietta and Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio were developing a pantheon of Sienese *famosi cives* meant to rival the famous ancient heroes of the Roman Republic.

It should come as no surprise, then, that it was the recently deceased and highly venerated figure of Bernardino of Siena that provided the iconographical model for depicting these new heroes of the Sienese republic. During his lifetime Bernardino was understood as an ideal citizen and his death did nothing to reduce his popularity. In a biographical account written sometime before 1450 John of Capistrano declared Bernardino to be the model of religion (*religionis*

[624] That Vecchietta's contemporary, Giovanni di Paolo, had adhered so closely to existing iconography in a work commissioned for the hospital church shortly after the *Arliquiera* makes Vecchietta's and Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's departures all the more striking. Giovanni di Paolo's figure of Gallerani was originally located on a pilaster on the Pizzicaiuolo altarpiece painted in the years 1447 – 1449 for the altar of the grocers' guild, and today it is held in the Metropolitan museum in New York. It is almost a mirror image of the fourteenth-century panel from the Sienese Pinacoteca, albeit the figure has been translated into the artist's own unique idiom. Adopting a comparable posture, Gallerani's robes are similarly embossed with a letter M surmounted by a cross, the emblem of the Confraternità di Santa Maria della Misericordia that Gallerani had helped found in the thirteenth century. His facial features also evoke the earlier figure, with an elongated nasal bridge, perfectly arched eyebrows and mane of brown hair. Unlike Vecchietta's senescent figure, in Giovanni di Paolo's rendition there appear no visible signs of advanced age whatsoever.

exemplar), singular vessel of all virtues (*omnium virtutum singularissimum vas*), and the mirror of salvation (*speculum salutare*).[625] Already in 1446 the acts of the *Consiglio generale* had declared Bernardino to be the "*singularissimi advocati comunis et populi*," and his rapid canonization only lent the designation further legitimacy.[626] Bernardino's pre-eminence in Siena was such that following his canonization on 24 May 1450 the communal government commissioned Sano di Pietro to paint a fresco of the new saint on a pier that joins the antechapel to the Sala del Consiglio in the Palazzo Pubblico (Fig. 214).[627] The location of this fresco on the same structural support and adjacent to Taddeo di Bartolo's image of *Aristotle* provides further indications of the civic government's interest in establishing visual contiguity between the new saint and the earlier *uomini famosi* (Fig. 215).[628] By adding Bernardino to the gathering of famous individuals from antiquity Sano di Pietro repeated Taddeo di Bartolo's earlier conceits and presented the stern figure as a faux polychromed sculpture set in a fictive architecturally

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[625] Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xli. The translation is mine.

[626] The decision to honor Bernardino with this title and institute an annual feast in his name dates to 9 May 1446. See ASS, Consiglio Generale, 223 fol. 145v (quote), 147v, 148r, as cited in Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," p. 94.

[627] John Pope-Hennessy suggested a date of 1450. See John Pope-Hennessy, *Sienese Quattrocento Painting*, Oxford; London, 1947, 29. Machtelt Israëls has also dated it to 1450, linking this fresco to a payment made by the Concistoro to Sano di Pietro on 23 December 1450: "Etiam cum dicti vexilliferi decreverunt quod operarius camere solvat magistro Sano Pietri pictori libras 41 soldi 5 ordinem debitorem pro pictura sancti Bernardini et pluribus aliis picturis pictis per eum circha dictam figuram in palatio dominorum." ASS, Concistoro, 508, fol. 67r, as cited in Israëls, "Absence and Resemblance," p. 99, n. 82. An inscription at the base of the figure reads: "Sanctus Bernardinus De Senis Canonicatus Die Decima / IIII Mensis Maii Anni MCCCCL Tempore Iubilei Pape Nicolai." The fresco had previously been dated to 1460. See É. Gallard, *Un peintre Siennois au XVe Siècle. Sano di Pietro 1406 -1481*, Chambéry, 1923, 75, 198; G. Borghini, "La decorazione" in Brandi ed. *Palazzo Pubblico di Siena*, 270; and Southard, *The Frescoes in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico*, 249 – 250.

[628] Not long afterwards, in 1460 Vecchietta painted an image of Catherine of Siena on the opposite pier in anticipation of her canonization in 1461. Payment of 20 lire for the fresco of "*beata Caterina*" was given to Vecchietta on 23 April 1460. See ASS, Concistoro, Deliberazioni, 561, fol. 45v, as cited in Milanesi, *Documenti,* vol. 2, 370. Catherine's unique status as the first woman to penetrate into what had previously been an exclusive domain occupied by images of famous men provides further evidence of Catherine's continued transcendence of gender imposed social limitations long after her death.

framed niche. Canonization had not only elevated the Sienese *beato* to the status of official sainthood, it justified his inclusion amongst these heroic *exempla* from the past.

The growing fame of the elderly friar encouraged a number of striking transformations in the representation of male saints in the regions surrounding Siena, with the art historian Carl Brandon Strehlke aptly noting that "it is as if his [Bernardino's] physical appearance encouraged realism in Sienese art."[629] The dramatic transformation in Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio's approach to the figure between 1440 and the painter's death in 1449 provides evidence of these developments.[630] When the artist painted a ca. 1440 image of *St. Augustine* as part of a now dismembered altarpiece he adhered closely to existing iconography (Fig. 216).[631] Augustine possesses a grey beard and is dressed in extravagant regalia befitting a bishop. Only a few horizontal lines stretch across the figure's forehead as visible signs of corrugated flesh and the transition from the small starburst of wrinkles set at the corner of his right eye to the smooth

[629] Strehlke, "Art and Culture in Renaissance Siena," 42.
[630] Pietro di Giovanni died shortly before his thirty-ninth birthday. He was buried in the cloister of San Domenico in Siena on 4 September 1449. For a recent biography of the artist, see Dóra Sallay, *Corpus of Sienese Paintings in Hungary*. Florence: Centro Di, 2015, 79 – 80.
[631] The panel is currently located in the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg. It originally formed a lateral panel of a polyptych that has been dismembered. The other known pieces include a predella panel at the Musei Civici di San Paolo at Parma showing the *Entry into Jerusalem*, a predella panel at the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin depicting the *Departure of Augustine*, a predella panel of the Borth of St. Nicholas that is currently located in the Kunstmuseum in Basel, and a Madonna and Child from the Brooklyn Museum in New York that formed the central image of the altarpiece. As noted by Keith Christiansen, the panels from the altarpiece have been dated variously over the years. Cesare Brandi thought it was a late work, but Christiansen felt it was more reasonable to place it in the first half of Pietro di Giovanni's career, ca. 1440, due to the picture's dependence on Sassetta's Madonna and Child in Grosseto of about 1435, and the absence of the refinements of color and design that Pietro di Giovanni introduced into his later works on the model of Sassetta's Borgo Sansepolcro altarpiece, completed in 1444. The dating of late 1430s to 1440 has become accepted in recent literature. See Keith Christiansen, "Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio," in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke eds., *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420-1500*, 258 – 263. For more recent accounts of the altarpiece, see Gabriele Fattorini, "Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio," in Seidel ed. *Le Arti a Siena Nel Primo Rinascimento*, 246 – 247, Francesco Barocelli, *Pietro Di Giovanni Di Ambrogio e Il Trittico Ricomposto: Dalla Tavola Stuard al "Pianto di Santa Monica" di Berlino, Alla Madonna Con Il Bambino Brooklyn*, Parma, 2010, and Silvia de Luca, "Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio," in Angelo Tartuferi and Gianluca Tormen eds., *La Fortuna dei Primitivi: Tesori d'Arte dalle Collezioni Italiane fra Sette e Ottocento*. Firenze: Giunti, 2014.

complexion of his cheek lends Augustine a mask-like, almost pneumatically inflated complexion. All of these are elements that evoke a panel attributed to Simone Martini currently found in the Fitzwilliam museum at Cambridge (Fig. 217).[632]

When Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio returned to the subject later in his career, however, one witnesses a significant departure from the earlier precedent. In his *Nativity* altarpiece commissioned by the Augustinians at Asciano ca. 1449, *Augustine* is once again depicted wearing luxurious drapery and carrying a crozier and book in his hands (Fig. 218).[633] While the form of the mitre closely echoes the artist's earlier work, the physiognomy of the saint's visage has changed dramatically (Fig. 219). The lines on the forehead of the now beardless figure have multiplied and the crow's feet are extended to become multiple wrinkles encircling the entire right eye. Veins protrude from the temple, tendons appear under the mottled and rough surface of the skin on the neck, the cheeks are sunken, and the nasolabial folds are pronounced. No longer bearing a mask-like visage, the painter has rendered the aged flesh of a venerable father of the church. These features, combined with the toothless downturned mouth, closely align *Augustine's* physiognomy with that used by Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio for his figures of Bernardino of Siena on the panels painted for the Osservanza at Siena and San Francesco at Lucignano, both signed and dated to 1444 and 1448 respectively (Figs. 139, 220).

Similar aged features define the physiognomies of saintly figures commissioned for Augustinian churches elsewhere in the Sienese *contado*. In the church of Sant'Agostino at

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[632] This panel originally formed part of an altarpiece commissioned for the church of Sant'Agostino at San Gimignano ca. 1317 - 26. See Dillian Gordon, "Simone Martini's Altarpiece for S. Agostino, San Gimignano." *The Burlington Magazine* 133.1064 (1991), 771. On the attribution to Simone Martini, see John Pope-Hennessy, "Three Panels by Simone Martini." *The Burlington Magazine* 91 (1949): 195-6.
[633] The painting is currently located in the collection of the Museo Civico Archeologico e d'Arte Sacra in the Palazzo Corboli at Asciano. On the Augustinians at Asciano commissioning the altarpiece, see Keith Christiansen, "Painting in Renaissance Siena," in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke eds., *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420-1500*, 10.

Montepulciano is an independent panel painted by Giovanni di Paolo in 1456 that depicts the recently canonized Augustinian friar *St. Nicholas of Tolentino* (Fig. 221).[634] The art historian John Pope-Hennessy perceived a number of parallels between this painting and images of Bernardino: "Standing, as S. Bernardino often stands, on a microcosmic world, holding in his left hand a lily and an open book and supported by a throng of crimson cherubim, the Saint with his gaze of fanatical intensity is a magnificently austere creation."[635] Despite the recognition of these similarities, however, Pope-Hennessy failed to acknowledge the most glaring correspondence between Giovanni di Paolo's figure of Nicholas and the early images of Bernardino; and that is

[634] The intact signature and date that runs along the base demonstrates that this was an independent panel and was not originally part of a polyptych. As John Pope-Hennessy acknowledged, "single votive panels of saints [from this period] are infrequent and confined for the most part to S. Bernardino." See John Wyndham Pope-Hennessy, *Giovanni di Paolo, 1403-1483*. London: Chatto, 1937*,* 62. Nicholas of Tolentino was canonized by Pope Eugene IV in 1446 and in this case the independent panel format was in all likelihood appropriated as part of an attempt to boost the popularity of the cult of their recently canonized saint whose fame had been eclipsed in a region increasingly dominated by miracle-working images of Bernardino of Siena. Urte Krass has similarly argued that with the death of the archbishop of Florence Antonino Pierozzi on 2 May 1459, the Dominicans in Florence attempted to appropriate the novel image practices of the Franciscans: "The veristic representation of this new Dominican saint can be seen as the answer to the exceptional success of the Franciscans in creating an always-recognizable image of Saint Bernardino of Siena." Krass, "A Case of Corporate Identity," 18.

[635] Pope-Hennessy, *Giovanni di Paolo,* 62. In fact a number of other elements align this image with the early Bernardine images. Hovering opposite the face of Nicholas there appears a radiant sun-disc in the center of which one sees the glowing red face of a cherub. This motif referred to a star that was reported to have miraculously appeared at the door of Nicholas's cell several times near the end of his life, a miracle that clearly evoked the apparition of a star opposite the face of Bernardino during a sermon delivered in L'Aquila. In addition to the independent panel at Sant'Agostino in Montepulciano, Giovanni di Paolo used the same hovering sun-disc attribute for his representation of Nicholas of Tolentino in the 1454 *Madonna and Child with Saints* polyptych at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. On the apparition of the star to Nicholas, see Roberto Cobianchi, "Raphael, Ceremonial Banners and Devotional Prints: New Light on Citta di Castello's Nicholas of Tolentino Altarpiece," in Bourdua and Dunlop eds., *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*, 210. Carl Brandon Strehlke also recognized that the iconographic formula for Sienese representations of Nicholas of Tolentino at this time was taken from those "recently coined for Bernardino." See Strehlke, *Italian Paintings, 1250-1450, in the John G. Johnson Collection and the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, 178. On the miraculous apparition of the star before Bernardino's face at L'Aquila, see Bernabaeus Senensis, "Vita I Antiquior," 280; and Giovanni da Capestrano, "S. Bernardini senensis ord. seraphici minorum vita," xli, as cited in my chapter "Real Presence," in this dissertation. While Pope-Hennessy does not explicitly cite the sun-disc motif as a common feature in Sienese images of Nicholas and Bernardino, he does claim that the "paucity" of Nicholas of Tolentino's legend helps account for the way that Giovanni di Paolo's panel assumes "some of the attributes of S. Bernardino." See Pope-Hennessy, *Giovanni di Paolo,* 62.

their aged physiognomies. Nicholas adopts a three-quarter pose with the large hood on the habit emphasizing his wrinkled neck. The eyebrows and tonsured hair are composed of wisps of white paint while the visage is defined by sunken cheeks, a toothless, downturned mouth, and sharply pointed nose and chin.[636] This represents a departure from earlier images Nicholas where he was depicted with a tonsured mane of brown hair suggesting a middle-aged individual, as is the case of a panel painted by Taddeo di Bartolo ca. 1418 currently located in the Pinacoteca at Volterra (Fig. 222).[637]

The transferral of Bernardine physiognomic traits to Augustinian saints in Sienese territory likely indicates much more than the simple recycling of preparatory drawings. During the first half of the fifteenth century tensions were mounting between the Franciscan and Augustinian Observant reform movements in the regions surrounding Siena.[638] In 1443 the

[636] It is interesting to note that the 1456 date of Giovanni di Paolo's independent panel of St. Nicholas of Tolentino coincides with what John Pope-Hennessy had identified as a shift in the painter's use of colour: "It is, however, very likely that Giovanni di Paolo felt Vecchietta's influence in the 'sixties in the same general way in which in the 'fifties he had responded to the influence of Sano." See Pope-Hennessy, *Giovanni di Paolo,* 67. Instead of describing these developments as an "influence" of Vecchietta's use of colour it may be argued that Giovanni di Paolo was responding first and foremost to Vecchietta's impressively descriptive visualization of the effects of aging.

[637] The painting came into the collection of the Pinacoteca from the sacristy of the Oratory of St. Anthony in 1906, although it likely originated in either San Pietro or Sant'Agostino at Volterra. A partially legible inscription reads "Tadeus Bartoli de Senis opus pinxit MCCCC…" The complete date is today illegible but in his *Guida per la città di Volterra* of 1832, A.F. Giachi stated that at that time it read 1418. See A. F. Giachi, *Guida per la città di Volterra,* Volterra, 1832, 64. Luigi Dami concurred with this dating. See Luigi Dami, "Taddeo di Bartolo a Volterra." *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione / Italia, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.* (1925), 70. Enzo Carli disagreed with this claim, instead dating the picture to a few years earlier. See Enzo Carli, *La Pinacoteca di Volterra*. Pisa: Pacini, 1980, 67. More recently Gail Solberg reaffirmed the dating of 1418, based on the early bibliography on the panel. See Gail Solberg, "The Late Career, 1410-1422," in *Taddeo di Bartolo: His Life and Work*, 248.

[638] One of the more commonly cited pieces of evidence of this conflict was the highly vocal critical attitude adopted by the Augustinian Observant reformer Andrea Biglia towards Bernardino's promotion of the cult of the name of Jesus. Disturbed by the populist tones of Bernardino's preaching, Biglia's attacks came at a time when Bernardino had been summoned to Rome by Pope Martin V to face charges of idolatry for his use of the *tavoletta* with the YHS trigram during his sermons. Biglia had composed the letter *Ad Barcinonenses de littera H in nomine IHESU* and the treatise *Liber de institutis, discipulis et doctrina fratris Bernardini Ordinis Minorum* in 1427 as critiques of Bernardino's teaching. Eventually the pope decided in Bernardino's favour, resulting in the official acceptance of the orthodoxy of his preaching. See Katherine Walsh, "The Augustinian Observance in Siena in the age of S. Caterina and S.

Augustinian general chapter was held in Siena and among its decrees was an instruction about the mode of dress permitted to Observant friars. As Katherine Walsh has noted, the legislation suggests that some members of the Augustinian Observance had adopted the tattered and grey religious habit characteristic of Observant Franciscans.[639] The Augustinian leadership's decision to impose restrictions on the habit is indicative of concerns over the growing success of the

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Bernardino," in Domenico Maffei and Paolo Nardi eds., *Atti Del Simposio Internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano, Siena, 17-20 Aprile 1980*. Siena: Accademia senese degli intronati, 1982, 947. For a transcription of the treatise, see de Gaiffier, "Le mémoir d'André Biglia sur la predication de S. Bernardin de Sienne," 308 – 358. On the origins of the Augustinian Observant reform movement in Sienese territory at the hermitages of Lecceto, S. Salvatore and S. Leonardo al Lago, see especially Kaspar Elm, "Gli eremiti neri del Dugento. Ein neuer Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Augustiner-Eremitenordens," in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1971): 58 – 79, M. B. Hackett, "The Medieval Archives of Lecceto," in *Analecta Augustiniana* 40 (1977): 15 – 45, and Katherine Walsh, "Papal Policy and Local Reform. The Beginning of the Augustinian Observance in Tuscany," in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 21 (1979): 35 – 57.

[639] See Walsh, "The Augustinian Observance in Siena in the age of S. Caterina and S. Bernardino," 949, and Katherine Walsh, "Papal Policy and Local Reform. Congregatio Ilicetana: The Augustinian Observant Movement in Tuscany and the Humanist Ideal," in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 22 (1980), 118 – 119. The coarse, grey habit adopted by Observant Franciscan friars, as seen in such examples as the garment kept as a relic of St. Bernardino at the convent of San Giuliano at L'Aquila, had been propagated by the movement as an outward visual symbol of their adherence to poverty, with one reformed friar referring to the practice as being "clothed in the color of ash and of death," which was in contrast to the "friar of the Conventuals who is dressed in costly cloth." The quote is from the 1460 *Solutiones quorundam obiectorum* by the Observant Franciscan friar Johannes Burgman (ca. 1400-1473), who would become the Provincial Vicar of Cologne in 1462. See Clare Lappin, *The Mirror of the Observance: Image, Ideal and Identity in Observant Franciscan Literature, c. 1415-1528*, PhD Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2000, 132. That the mode of dress chosen by the Franciscan Observance had been widely recognized as an important public display of their identity is attested to by lay literature. In his collection of short stories known as *Il Novellino* of ca. 1475, the satirist Masuccio Salernitano (ca. 1420-1475) ridiculed the simple and roughly made wooden sandals known as *zoccoli* that were worn by the reformed friars: "Che quelli fra' minori, quali osservanti vonno esser chiamati, mancano evidentemente in le più alte e importante cose che per lo serafico Francesco fussero ordinate, e alcune inutile e supersticiose inviolatamente le osservano: portano gli zoccoli grossi e mal fatti, che mai san Francesco ne vide, per mostrarsi a l'ignaro vulgo umili, poveri e obedienti." See Masuccio Salernitano, *Il Novellino*. Giorgio Petrocchi ed. Firenze: Sansoni, 1957, 97. For more on the history of the Franciscan habit, see Servus Gieben, "Per La Storia Dell'Abito Francescano." *Collectanea Franciscana / Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum.* (1996): 431-78; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, 74; Ronald Lightbown, *Carlo Crivelli*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 53; Nick Havely, *Dante and the Franciscans: Poverty and the Papacy in the Commedia*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 94-96; and Julian Gardner, *Giotto and His Publics: Three Paradigms of Patronage*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011, 71-74.

competing reform movement. Clothing at this time was an important public display of a friar's belonging to a particular religious Order and became synonymous with an individual's identity, functioning almost as a second skin.[640] Unlike skin, however, one's vestments could be changed. In a study of the significance of religious attire in fifteenth-century Siena, Cordelia Warr noted that:

> As a second skin, religious dress was a visible sign of holiness…The idea of clothing as a disguise in the modern sense of the word seems to have been unusual. Where clothing was used as a disguise it seems often to have been one that transformed the person using it, to the extent that it became an expression of their true self, of their religious self.[641]

Emulation could result in a sort of metamorphosis into the thing being emulated, posing those Augustinian friars that adopted the clothing of Observant Franciscans at risk of being absorbed into the competing Order.

In such a climate the visual resemblance to images of Bernardino seen in representations of Augustinian saints in Sienese territory takes on a new significance. The phenomenon suggests an attempt to emulate saintliness through the visual mimicry of facial physiognomy. It may be the case that the imitation of Bernardine physiognomic features was an attempt to disrupt and supplant the rapidly spreading cult of Bernardino. By coopting the allure of the charged charisma associated with the Franciscan friar's aged features the Augustinians hoped to provide their own cadre of venerable elderly saints.

The idea that sainthood was related to physical resemblance can even be traced in Observant Franciscan writings. An early sixteenth century manuscript containing the *Via Spirituale* (ca. 1518-1520) composed by the reformed friar Mariano da Firenze demonstrates an

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[640] Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, 201 – 205.
[641] Cordelia Warr, "Clothing, Charity, Salvation and Visionary Experience in Fifteenth-Century Siena." *Art History* 27.2 (2004), 192.

interest in reading the saintly character of the soul through the physiognomic features of the face.[642] Intended as a spiritual guide for the reader on their journey towards God, Mariano specifically singled out Bernardino's facial features as having resembled those of St. Francis:

> The disposition of the body shows the quality of the mind. The Gospel says: 'By the face may you know the man.' The sensual man may be recognized by an examination of his face. St. Francis said 'if you wish to know the inner brother, look at how he seems on the outside.' I have found some saints and *beati* who particularly resembled [*singularmente passorono*] St. Francis in these standards: St. Bonaventure, St. Louis [of Toulouse], St. Bernardino, Fra Angelo da Chivasso, Fra Pietro da Travanda, Fra Guasparre da Firenze, Fra Lodovico da Siena, Fra Paolo Tedesco, and Fra Paolo da Lucca, master of holy theology. In their speech and aspect, these men seemed to be angels of God.[643]

The belief that evidence of sanctity could be seen in one's physiognomic features helps account for the way that images of Franciscan Observant *beati* produced in Abruzzo and the Marches in the second half of the fifteenth century demonstrate precisely the same interest in evoking the facial features of Bernardino of Siena.[644] Bartolomeo Vivarini's independent panel depicting John of Capistrano, signed and dated to 1459 on a *cartellino* at the base, provides a case in point (Fig. 223).[645] It depicts a full-length figure standing in a three-quarter posture upon fictive

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[642] The science of physiognomy had proposed that signs found on the body could divulge certain information about the soul's nature and character. See Ziegler, "Philosophers and Physicians on the Scientific Validity of Latin Physiognomy, 1200-1500," 290 and Maclean, "The Logic of Physiognomony in the Late Renaissance," 278.

[643] Mariano da Firenze, *Via Spirituale*, Biblioteca Guarnacci di Volterra, Cod. LVII, 7, fol. 111r, as cited in Lappin, *The Mirror of the Observance: Image, Ideal and Identity in Observant Franciscan Literature, c. 1415-1528*, 229. As Lappin noted, "this angelic appearance is a specifically Observant image. All of the friars cited here, apart from the obvious exceptions of Bonaventura and Louis, were Observant brothers."

[644] In a recent article Pavla Langer, citing Urte Krass, has also remarked upon this phenomenon by noting that the corporate identity of the Franciscan Observants became manifest through a growing attention to the meticulous depiction of an emaciated physiognomy in images of Observant *beati*, although both Langer and Krass failed to recognize that the phenomenon had its origins in Sienese painting. See Pavla Langer, "Giovanni of Capestrano as *novus Bernardinus*. An Attempt in Iconography and Relics." *Franciscan Studies*, vol. 75, 2017, 195.

[645] Painted only three years after John's death in 1456, today the panel is in the Louvre, Paris. The *cartellino* reads: OPUS . BARTHOLOMEI . VIVARINI . DE . MURANO . 1459. The provenance of this painting only goes back to the collection of the Marchese G. Campana in nineteenth-century Rome, and its original context is unknown. See Jean Habert, Stéphane Loire, Cécile Scailliérez, and Dominique

marble. An inscription on the low wall behind John declares him to be a *beato* and provides the date of his death.[646] John's senescent face is characterized by pronounced frontal bossing of the skull with deep wrinkles cleaving a broad forehead. He has pure white eyebrows and tonsured hair while the staring sunken eyes are encircled by exaggerated crow's feet. He possesses the typical pointed nose and chin with a toothless mouth. John's thin, heavily wrinkled neck and sunken, dry cheeks are especially indicative of aged and mortified flesh. In many respects the painting is evocative of the previously cited account of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who had stressed that John's "elderly body was small and skinny and wasted, completely dry, held together only by skin, nerves, and bones."[647] Beatific rays emanate from John's face and he holds a crusader banner, an appropriate attribute for the soldier saint who had led the crusade against the Turks at the battle of Belgrade in 1456.[648] On the reverse side of the banner appears an image of a standing elderly friar recognizable as an Observant Franciscan due to his grey habit. John's visage is brought into close proximity with this tiny figure creating a mirroring effect. Given that the diminutive figure possesses a full halo and holds a roundel containing the YHS trigram, this image can only represent Bernardino of Siena.

Carlo Crivelli's independent panel of James of the Marches, signed and dated to 1477 on a *cartellino* at the base, repeats much of the formula. Originally painted for the small convent church of San Niccolò at Ascoli, the lifesize figure of James stands in the by now familiar three-

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Thiébaut eds., *Catalogue des Peintures Italiennes du Musée du Louvre: Catalogue Sommaire*. Paris: Gallimard, 2007, 54.

[646] The inscription reads: beatus Joh[an]es . de . Capistrano ord[in]is m[i]/ norum de obs[er]va[n]tia obijt . 1456 . di a/n[n]o . 23.Ottobris. In hu... u[n]gari.

[647] Piccolomini, *Historia rerum Friderici III Imperatoris,* 43. See note 6 above.

[648] Springing from the banner is a *cartiglio* citing 1 Corinthians, 15:57 which reads: DEO . AUT[EM] . GRATIAS . QUI . DEDIT . NOBIS . VICTORIAM . P[ER] . J[ESUM] C[HRISTUM] . DO[MI]N[UM] N[OST]R[UM].

quarter profile upon a faux marble ground (Fig. 224).[649] Kneeling at the base of the image are two miniscule donor figures shown in the act of praying for intercession. On the right and just above the parapet is an inscription that reads 'BEATUS IACOBUS . DE ASCULO . DE LA MARCA.' In his left hand James holds a book while his right index finger points towards a fictive medallion of the YHS trigram set opposite his face. The trigram casts a shadow and seems to hang from a garland of fruit above by a cinnabar thread, its round form evoking the Bernardine portrait medals produced by the Ferrarese artist Antonio Marescotti in 1444 and distributed throughout the north of Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century (Fig. 143). The iconography was clearly dependent upon the early Sienese independent panels of Bernardino where the YHS trigram hovered before the face of the saint in a brilliant sun-disc. Once again there are the deep-set eyes surrounded by sagging, corrugated flesh with veins protruding from the temple of a wrinkled forehead defined by strongly developed frontal bossing. The hollow cheeks are beset by deep rhytides and the small downturned mouth suggests toothlessness. More veins and tendons bulge from beneath the thin, dry skin of the right hand, the pronounced knuckles of the extended index finger as well as those of the saint's toes suggestive of advanced arthritis.

In a recent article Urte Krass pointed out that "Bernardino of Siena is the first saint whose face, that is, its recognizable physiognomy, is his most important attribute, and the first saint

[649] Hanging from James's knotted grey Franciscan cord is a spectacle case, an attribute also seen in some representations of Bernardino. The panel is currently located in the Louvre, Paris and was painted only one year following the death of James in Naples on 28 November 1476, at a time when he was already being worshipped as a *beato* in the town he regarded as his birthplace. This is indicated not only by the inscription but also by the aureole of golden rays that issues from his head; the thin golden circular halo was only added at a later date after the official canonization of James in 1726. The panel was later moved to the church of the Annunziata, which had originally been a convent of Augustinian nuns but was granted to the Franciscan Observance in 1481. For a recent account of the early history of the panel, see Lightbrown, *Carlo Crivelli*, 239.

who, thus, can always be recognized even without other identifying characteristics."[650] It is my belief that, just like any attribute, Bernardino's physiognomic aspect itself could be emulated in the production of novel iconographies for other saints. The use of Bernardine features for the creation of saintly portraits in churches of the Augustinian Observance in Sienese territories suggests an attempt to appropriate some of the charisma of the Franciscan friar. In a related fashion, the Franciscan Observance's commissioning of elderly images of John of Capistrano and James of the Marches in Abruzzo and the Marche may have formed part of a strategy to promote the sainthood of these individuals by evoking Bernardino's gaunt features. It is not that painters were copying the physical features precisely as none of these images could be construed in any way as identical. Rather artists approached details of aged flesh such as crow's feet, pronounced foreheads streaked by protruding veins and deep creases, slender, wrinkled necks, and sunken cheeks as visible and transferable attributes of male sanctity. What might be subsumed under generalized umbrella terms such as an emerging 'Renaissance naturalism' is in these instances perhaps better understood as an extension of existing cult image practices where attributes of sanctity were often replicated in the creation of images of new saints.

The gerontocratic republic and Vecchietta's *vecchiezza*

Midway through his career Vecchietta was granted a commission for the two marble figures of saints Peter and Paul that would adorn the façade of the Loggia della Mercanzia in Siena (Figs. 124, 125).[651] Carved between 1458 and 1463 the sculptures represent a tour de force

[650] Krass, "A Case of Corporate Identity," 1.
[651] The base of St. Peter is signed 'OPUS LAURENTII PETRI PICTORIS SEN,' while the base of St. Paul reads 'OPUS LAURENTII PETRI PICTORIS SENENSIS.' For more on Vecchietta's sculptures for the Loggia della Mercanzia, see Hansen, *Die Loggia della Mercanzia in Siena*, 70-72. The figure of Peter was removed to the Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala in 2006 during the conservation and cleaning of the Loggia, and was replaced at that time by a copy. See Gianluca Amato, "Antonio Federighi," in Seidel ed. *Le Arti a Siena Nel Primo Rinascimento*, 338.

in the mimetic representation of the elderly male body, with Vecchietta mustering all of the pictorial elements he had previously utilized to visualize senescence. The weight of the flesh in Peter's thin cheeks is rendered uneven and he has been given pronounced cheekbones (Fig. 225). Deep creases were carved for the nasolabial folds, crow's feet appear at the sides of the eye sockets, veins bulge outwards from the temples, and tendons protrude from a slender neck. Peter's feet project outwards into the beholder's space and are rendered with rough, uneven flesh, the thin skin revealing pulsating blood vessels beneath (Fig. 226). The figure of Paul is balding and he has been given a long, flowing beard (Fig. 227). His mouth hangs open loosely and he exhibits the deeply sunken cheeks, heavy eyelids, and veiny temples typical of Vecchietta's figures of elders. Both saints have bony hands and feet covered by wrinkled flesh whose pronounced bulging joints suggest the onset of osteoarthritis. A particularly impressive mimetic passage occurs in the careful sculpting of Paul's left hand. As the elderly figure strains to maintain its grip upon a large tome the back of the hand is stretched to reveal ridges of dry skin whose folds evoke crinkled tissue paper (Fig. 228). The leanness of the frames of both saints is accentuated by the deeply carved, voluminous drapery from which protrude slender wrists and lithe, wrinkled necks.

The meticulous carving of the emaciated features of Peter and Paul has often been understood as a response to the supposed pathos of Donatello's "highly emotive sculpture," a common sentiment in the literature on the Sienese artist's later works.[652] Yet other possible

[652] Carl Strehlke noted that Donatello's "highly emotive sculpture left a deep impression on Vecchietta." See Strehlke, "Vecchietta," 259. Gabriele Fattorini rehashed these sentiments in 2007: "the impact of Donatello's Sienese sojourn (1457-61) upon Vecchietta is demonstrated in his Saints Paul and Peter." See Gabriele Fattorini, "Artist's Biographies," in Syson et al eds., *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*, 352. In 2010 Gabriele Donati claimed that: "the scrunched up and adhering consistency of the carved drapery of the two statues of the Mercanzia reveals that Lorenzo had been bewitched – even in the eventual appeal to the Roman world – by the 'material *pathos*' of the elderly Donatello" (la consistenza strizzata, aderente, scavata del panneggio delle due statue della Mercanzia assicura di per sé lo stregamento di Lorenzo –

sources of inspiration for Vecchietta's particular brand of verism already existed in Siena. The anonymous sculptor that carved the figure of *St. Savinus* for the upper part of the façade of the cathedral during the first half of the fourteenth century utilized a similar representational mode (Fig. 229).[653] The gaunt figure possesses the pronounced cheekbones, deeply carved nasolabial folds, and wrinkled skin that would characterize Vecchietta's sculptures of *Peter* and *Paul*. A *Head of a Man*, part of a group of eight "*teste grandi*" carved in 1356 for the top of the central section of the façade of Siena's baptistery, also possesses a number of features in common with Vecchietta's figure of *Peter* (Fig. 230).[654] In particular the opened mouth revealing the teeth, the sideways glance towards the figure's right, the thin cheeks, and the drilled curls of the beard all suggest that the later artist had studied this work closely.

Despite these local precedents, Vecchietta's sculptures are repeatedly understood by art historians as responses to Donatello's 1457 – 61 sojourn in Siena. Vecchietta's ca. 1472 bronze effigy of the Sienese jurisconsult *Mariano Sozzini the Elder* (1397 – 1467) represents another work that has been interpreted as derivative of the Florentine artist's work (Fig. 231).[655] The art

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anche nell'eventuale ricorso al mondo romano – per il pervasive "pathos materico" del vecchio Donatello). The translation is mine. See Gabriele Donati, "Lorenzo di Pietro detto il Vecchietta," in Seidel ed. *Le Arti a Siena Nel Primo Rinascimento*, 340. See also Francesco Caglioti, "Verso l'ultimo soggiorno di Donatello: Novità di Vecchietta, di Antonio Federighi e di Matteo di Giovanni," in the same volume.

[653] The sculpture has been removed from the façade and is now located in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena.

[654] The sculptures were recently placed on display in the exhibition *Maestri a "Rischio",* held at the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo from 23 March 2018 until 6 January 2019. For more on the "teste grandi" see Roberto Bartalini, "Maestri "a rischio": il cantiere del Duomo di Siena e le "teste grandi" per la facciata del battistero," in Alessandro Bagnoli and Roberto Bartolini eds., *Maestri "a Rischio."* Siena: Opera della Metropolitana, 2018, 6 – 31. The dating of the sculptures is based on a document held in the Archivio dell'Opera della Metropolitana di Siena relating to work done on the cathedral during the period 1 July 1356 – 30 June 1357. See Bartalini, "Maestri "a rischio", 27, note 20.

[655] The bronze sculpture is currently located in Florence's Bargello Museum. While the commission for the bronze effigy of Sozzini is undocumented it has been consistently attributed to Vecchietta ever since its earliest description in a reference by Guidi Panziroli (1515 – 1591). See Guidi Panziroli, Lib. III, cap. XXXV, 358 – 61, as cited in Paolo Nardi, *Mariano Sozzini giuresconsulto senese del Quattrocento*. Milan: Quaderni di Studi senese, 1974, vol. 32, 360. Panziroli attributed the sculpture to Vecchietta and

historian Robert Munman, for example, claimed that the sculpture was based on Donatello's ca. 1428 funerary monument for the cardinal and antipope *Baldassare Cossa* (Fig. 232).[656] As evidence of this relationship Munman cited the "strongly veristic presentation of *Sozzini's* portrait," the source for the "intensity and dramatic naturalism" of which was "almost assuredly" Donatello's effigy of the cardinal.[657]

Yet a comparison of the two figures reveals a number of key differences in the overall approach to the body. *Cossa's* eyebrows have been realized through a series of stylized, wavy lines and the tufts of hair that protrude from beneath the mitre are similarly generalized (Fig. 233). The nose is rather bulbous and the visage is fleshy, the planes of which are formed largely by smooth and rounded surfaces. *Cossa's* luxurious vestments are suggestive of a thick and heavy material and he wears ornate gloves and footwear.

In contrast *Sozzini's* face is much more emaciated and the flesh appears uneven (Fig. 234). The temples, eye sockets, and cheeks are deeply sunken and the cheekbones protrude outwards. The eyebrows are almost non-existent and *Sozzini's* nose is more pointed, the lower portion of the bridge narrowed to the extent that the nasal bones are revealed beneath the flesh.

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described the effigy as "expressing the live image" of Sozzini, and that it was destined for a tomb monument but remained in the possession of Sozzini's heirs at that time: "Statua ex aere, vivam eius imaginem exprimens, quae pro monument ponenda erat, adhuc in posterorum aedibus conservatur, Laurentii Vecletti artificis Senensis manu conflata,virum quo utebatur habitu fabre expressum refert." The citation is from Narciso Mengozzi, "Reliquie sozziniane," *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, 4 (1897), 159. The sculpture has been dated to the years immediately following the death of Sozzini on 30 September 1467. Robert Munman argues that since Vecchietta had been commissioned to produce the large bronze tabernacle for the high altar of the cathedral in May of that same year and that it was not completed until 1472, it is reasonable to assume that the tabernacle and the effigy of Sozzini were modeled and cast concurrently. See Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 89.

[656] The monument is located in Florence's baptistery. Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 95. Enzo Carli had a similar response: "the subtle wrinkling of the clothing clinging to the body gives place to a precious, luminous play in which on perceives an original interpretation, linearly delicate, of Donatellian pictorialism." See Carli, *Gli scultori senesi*, 43, as cited in Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 89, n. 128.

[657] Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 95.

Sozzini wears simpler, more humble clothing and his bare hands and feet are depicted in a mimetic pictorial mode that recalls the dry, rough skin and bulging blood vessels seen in the figures of *Peter* and *Paul* from the Loggia della Mercanzia (Figs. 235, 236).

Rather than being derivative of Donatello's work, I consider Vecchietta's highly veristic sculptures of elderly men to have much more to do with the local tradition I have been tracing in this chapter.[658] *Sozzini's* features recall those seen in the early images of Bernardino of Siena, with some aspects of the sculpted forms of Vecchietta's bronze effigy even evoking the wax death mask of *Bernardino* kept at L'Aquila (Fig. 140).[659] Perhaps it was these visual parallels that led the art historian Ulrich Middeldorf to declare in 1938 that "I cannot see in the horrid death mask of the tomb statue of Mariano Sozzini in the Bargello any high artistic merit."[660] Similar evaluations of the monument have been recently expressed by Laura Goldenbaum:

> The sunken cheeks and the deeply grooved nasal lip furrow testify to severe illness and agony. The parchment-thin skin makes the shape of the skull underneath recognizable. It is the intimate image of an exhausted man who has surrendered to death. The eyelids are closed and sunk deep into the eye sockets. The tight-lying, flat and broad lips appear expressionless and give the face an appearance of otherworldliness that words fail to express, which wraps the figure in a veil of eternity. It is first and foremost the image of a corpse, the epitome of *Apatheia*, which only a dead person can embody.[661]

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[658] In recent years some scholars have begun to recognize Vecchietta's independence from Donatello's visual language. Giulio Dalvit has argued that "Vecchietta's visual language, especially in the 1470s, deflects markedly from Donatello's during his Sienese sojourn in 1457 – 61, as scholars have sometimes pointed out. His way of expressing discomfiture seems to glean from visual sources other than Donatello." Dalvit, "The Iconography of Vecchietta's Bronze Christ in Siena," 58.

[659] For more on the death mask of Bernardino see the chapter in this dissertation titled "Real Presence."

[660] Ulrich Middeldorf, "Review of Giorgio Vigni, Lorenzo di Pietro detto Il Vecchietta," in *Art in America* 26 (1938), 142, as cited in Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 89, n. 128. A number of scholars have gone so far as to speculate that the visage of Sozzini was cast from a death mask. The notion appears to have first been proposed in Guglielmo della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi del padre maestro Guglielmo della Valle sopra le belle arte*, Rome, 1786, 61. Andreas Pfeiffer thought that the hands as well as the head were modelled from casts taken from the corpse. See Andreas Pfeiffer, "Das Ciborium im Sieneser Dom. Untersuchungen zur Bronzeplastik Vecchiettas," unpublished dissertation, Marburg, 1975, 135, as cited in Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 95, n. 133. Such speculation is moot, however, as no death mask of Sozzini exists.

[661] "Die eingefallenen Wangen und die tief gekerbte Nasenlippenfurche zeugen von schwerer Krankheit und Agonie. Die pergamentartig dunne Haut lässt die Form des Schädels darunter kenntlich warden. Es ist das intime Bildnis eines erschöpften Menschen, der sich dem Tod ergeben hat. Die Lider sind

Yet such morbid assessments ignore the fact that the visage of *Sozzini* fits perfectly well within the established Sienese practice of representing venerable males as emaciated, senescent figures. These kind of responses to the sculpture on the part of modern scholars suggest the bias of a culture that tends to idolize youthful bodies while elders are often marginalized, and old age is equated with disease. Rather than testifying to "severe illness and agony," *Sozzini's* facial features evoke some of the common effects of aging upon the body. The question of artistic merit must be judged from the perspective of an aesthetic preference for such images of elders in fifteenth-century Siena.

Just as Bernardino had been portrayed as an ideal citizen of the Sienese Republic, during his lifetime Sozzini was understood as a well-respected *pater familias* who had given years of service to the *comune*.[662] A prolific writer on canon and civic law, Sozzini taught as a professor at the universities of Siena and Padua and was the teacher and good friend of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the eventual Pope Pius II.[663] He was said to be highly accomplished in philosophy, cosmography, geometry, arithmetic, history, poetry, and medicine, and was praised by his peers

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geschlossen und tief in die Augenhöhlen gesunken. Die fest aufeinanderliegenden, flach und breit gedrückten Lippen wirken ausdrucksleer under verleihen dem Antlitz einen nicht in Worte zu fassenden Anschein von Jenseitigkeit, der die Figur in einen Schleier der Ewigkeit hüllt. Es ist zuallererst das Bild eines Leichnams, der Inbegriff der Apatheia, wie sie nur ein Toter verkorpern kann." Laura Goldenbaum, "Zeugniswert des Körpers – Der Bronzegisant des Mariano Sozzini (d. 1467) als 'leibliches Prägemal' ('caracter carnalis')," in *In Testimonium Veritatis: Der Bronzegisant als Totenabbild im Italienischen Quattrocento*. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH, 2018, 179

[662] Robert Munman has argued that the commissioning of such a prestigious memorial was unprecedented for a private citizen in Siena, and seems conceivable only if it had been created at the behest of the city fathers out of gratitude for his many years of service to the *comune*. Munman notes that when one recalls the other bronze effigies produced in the Renaissance – Fra Leonardo Dati (*maestro generale* of the Dominican Order), Bishop Giovanni Pecci, Cardinals Baldassare Cossa, Pietro Foscari and Giovanni Battista Zeno, and Popes Martin V, Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII – the uniqueness of Mariano Sozzini's secular rank stands out. See Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 104.

[663] Nardi, *Mariano Sozzini giuresconsulto senese del Quattrocento*, 100, as cited in Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 101, n. 135.

for his intelligence, dignity, honesty, courtesy and affability.[664] Like Bernardino, Sozzini came to embody the gerontocratic identity of the Sienese Republic during the first half of the fifteenth century. That Vecchietta would adapt aspects of the pictorial mode utilized for the representation of male saints in Sienese territory for the creation of an effigy of such a revered citizen is unsurprising. Elderly male *exempla,* both secular and religious, were patriotically venerated in Siena for their roles in preserving and transmitting the values of the Republic to future generations. It is in all likelihood that for Sozzini's contemporaries the aged features of the bronze effigy would not have been seen as signs of illness but as visible evidence of a life well-lived.

It should be noted at this point that the high esteem of elderly males was a feature common to republican forms of government in late medieval Italy. In his study on the gerontocratic ideals of the Venetian Republic, Robert Finlay noted that "between 1400 and 1600 the average age of the doge at election was 72, an average of eighteen years older at election than the pope."[665] Richard Trexler had similarly recognized old age as a key component in shaping the identity of the Florentine Republic, noting that at the beginning of the fifteenth century the city had been ruled by "a beleaguered gerontocracy of judicious fathers."[666] This regime excluded women, boys (*fanciulli*), young men (*giovani*), and plebs from government, marginalizing these social groups for supposedly lacking "the gravity, the dispassionate reason, and the controlled sexuality that were the necessary moral qualities of governors."[667] As the

[664] Munman, *Sienese Renaissance Tomb Monuments*, 101.
[665] Finlay, "The Venetian Republic as a Gerontocracy," 157.
[666] Richard C. Trexler, "The New Ritual Groups," in *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*. New York: Academic Press, 1980, 367.
[667] Trexler, "The New Ritual Groups," 367.

century progressed, however, this form of elderly veneration was displaced by a "cult of youth" that Trexler linked to the formation of Medicean hegemony.[668] According to Trexler:

> Developing a true cult of youth, Cosimo and his successors showered the brilliant young men who came to pay their daily reverence with political favors and private honors, then sent them back to their neighbourhoods to spread, and organize, the good word. The Medici rose to power on a ground-swell of class, age, neighbourhood, and occupational particularism. As it pertains to youth, this thesis may be documented by three important sources from the years around 1471. They suggest that youth had a part in a thoroughgoing centralization and rationalization of the Florentine confraternal system, which created in effect a new, integrated geography of festive groups in the city, one that subverted the republican geography of Florence.[669]

Trexler's recognition of the strategic political harnessing of youth by the Medici may help account for the proliferation of images of young males in late fifteenth-century Florence (Figs. 237, 238), a phenomenon recently remarked upon by Jeanette Kohl:

> In Quattrocento Florence a new type of idealized and decidedly youthful saints became increasingly popular; among these the images of the juvenile Baptist, the city patron, take an exceptional position in terms of popularity and diffusion. St. John's pronounced puerility or youthfulness is a phenomenon almost exclusive to the fifteenth century. All the great sculptors of the mid- and late fifteenth century have left striking examples of this type.[670]

If the Medici regime had indeed created a youthful retinue as a means to "subvert the republican geography of Florence," the Sienese government's attempts to reassert and stabilize a republican identity through the promotion of their own cult of elderly *famosi cives* represents an antithetical strategy. These competing cultural valuations of age played out in the artistic sphere. Just as

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[668] Trexler, "The New Ritual Groups," 396.
[669] Trexler, "The New Ritual Groups," 396.
[670] Jeanette Kohl, "Morals, Males, and Mirrors. Some Thoughts on Busts of Boys in the Renaissance," in Joseph Connors, Alessandro Nova, Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi, and Gerhard Wolf eds., *Desiderio da Settignano*. Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2011, 90. For more on the manifestation of the cult of youth in Florentine art, see Christopher Fulton, "The Boy Stripped Bare by His Elders: Art and Adolescence in Renaissance Florence." *Art Journal* 56.2 (1997), 31-40; Adrian W.B. Randolph, "Homosocial desire and Donatello's bronze David," in *Engaging Symbols*, 139 – 193; and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi, "Saints and Infants," in Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Marc Bormand eds., *The Springtime of the Renaissance: Sculpture and the Arts in Florence 1400-60*. Firenze: Mandragora, 2013, 119 – 129.

busts of youthful boys proliferated under Medicean hegemony, in Siena and the surrounding territories images of aged men gained in popularity following the death of Bernardino degli Albizzeschi. Elderly males came to be seen as a political bulwark against the perceived threats posed to the republican regime by brash youthfulness, and Sienese artists played an important role in visualizing this burgeoning cult of senescence in their city.

It was in this milieu that Lorenzo di Pietro self-consciously adopted the alias 'Il Vecchietta' (the little old one). The precise origins of Lorenzo di Pietro's rather odd nickname are unknown.[671] The first recorded use of the moniker appears in a document dated 4 April 1442 in relation to a commission for a figure of the resurrected Christ.[672] Lorenzo di Pietro was baptized in August of 1410 and he would have been approximately thirty-one years old at the time of this commission.[673] It is therefore highly unlikely that the epithet had anything to do with the artist's actual age.[674] Art historians have speculated on possible inspirations for the peculiar moniker in the past. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni

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[671] As Carl Strehlke noted, "the origin of Vecchietta's curious nickname, meaning 'the little old one' is not known." See Carl Brandon Strehlke, "Vecchietta," in Christiansen, Kanter, and Strehlke eds., *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420-1500*, 258. Irving Lavin was similarly confounded by the alias: "his nickname – for which I have found no explanation in the sources." See Irving Lavin, "The Sculptor's 'Last Will and Testament'," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 35 (1977-8), 9, n. 6.

[672] This document reads: "Maestro Lorenzo di Piero detto el Vecchietta, die avere a di 4 d'Aprile lire trenta e quali sono per intagliatura et dipentura a tutte sue spese d'una fighura di Nostro Signore Yhesu Christo, resuscitato, la quale si tiene in sull'altare maggiore." Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Siena, *Libro di Debitori e Creditori ad annum a carte 14*, as cited in Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti*, 1854, vol. 2, 369.

[673] Vecchietta was previously thought to have been born around the year 1412. See Milanesi, *Documenti*, 1854, vol. 2, 367. In 1970 Carlo del Bravo consulted the Sienese *libro dei battezzati* for the years 1379/80 to 1441/42 where he found an entry amongst the class of 1410 that reads as follows: "Lorenzo di Piero di Giovanni si battezzò a dì XI d'aghosto fu comare monna Francescha di Jachomo." See ASS, *Biccherna*, 1132, c. 278v, as cited in Carlo del Bravo, *Scultura Senese del Quattrocento*. Firenze: Edam, 1970, 60.

[674] The artist continued to use the alias right up until the end of his life. When petitioning the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in 1479 to allow him to construct a funerary chapel on the grounds the artist referred to himself as "Lorenzo di Pietro dipentore et scultore decto el Vecchietta da Siena." The chapel was to be the burial site for Vecchietta and his wife. Vecchietta's magnificent bronze sculpture of an emaciated, cadaverous *Risen Christ*, today located on the high altar of the hospital church, was originally destined to be placed "in su l'altare di decta capella." See Milanesi, *Documenti*, vol. 2, 368.

Battista Cavalcaselle observed that "he was nicknamed Vecchietta, perhaps because of the tottering frames and aged faces repeated with consistent pertinacity in every specimen of his skill in every branch."[675] Henk van Os had also earlier singled out the artist's depiction of senescence as a distinguishing characteristic of his artistic production: "Vecchietta's portrayals of old men display none of his usual restlessness, and the splendid figures of Evangelists and Fathers of the Church on the hospital's sacristy vault [at Santa Maria della Scala in Siena] …are the very acme of his art" (Fig. 239).[676] Building upon these insights, it is my contention that Lorenzo di Pietro's cognomen referred to aspects of the artist's visual poetics, specifically his longstanding interest in visualizing the aging process. It is not unrealistic to assume that this aspect of Lorenzo di Pietro's working practice was purposefully cultivated by the artist as part of the development of his professional self as 'Il Vecchietta.' Just as Giovanni Villani had posited a metaphorical link between the name '*Sena*' and the city's mythical elderly settlers, Lorenzo di Pietro adopted his nickname in reference to his impressive ability to represent the effects of aging, all as part of a conscious shaping of his artistic persona.[677] Such self-naming was not a neutral act. In the fifteenth century a name not only commented on the essence of a thing, it also held a capacity to transfer some of this essence to the designated subject. Lorenzo di Pietro's self-fashioning through the adoption of the persona of 'the little old one' should therefore not be understood simply as an advertisement of his remarkable skill at rendering the aged body. The power

[675] J. A. Crowe & G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century.* London: John Murray, 1866, vol. 3, 59.
[676] Van Os, "Vecchietta and the Persona of the Renaissance Artist," 450.
[677] Giancarla Periti has made a similar argument in relation to Correggio's adoption of the nickname 'Laetus-Lieto.' During the sixteenth-century the term *laetus* referred to the joy expressed in faces or bodily motions. According to Periti, "With his adopted name Laetus-Lieto, the artist embraced the essence of merriment and joy inherent in his cognomen, utilizing its inner force to direct the development of his personal and professional selves." See Periti, "From Allegri to Laetus-Lieto: The Shaping of Correggio's Artistic Distinctiveness," 459.

associated with naming meant that the moniker transformed Lorenzo di Pietro into an entity capable of imbuing his works with '*vecchiezza.*' Through his ability to create sublimely descriptive images of elderly exemplars, Vecchietta helped fashion a civic identity for his homeland that would live up to its longstanding motto of *Sena Vetus*.

Conclusion

I began this dissertation with a discussion of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's murals in the Sala della Pace of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico, and it is to these paintings that I wish to return by way of conclusion. In addition to "Peace" and "War" on the east and west walls, there were also other paintings to be found in the room. On the north wall is the mural conventionally known as *Buon Governo*, the pictures composed of a series of allegorical figures (Fig. 240). The largest figure, an elderly male with white hair and beard shown seated upon a throne draped with a cloth of honor, is usually seen as a personification of the *Ben Comune.* This figure is dressed in the black and white colors of the Sienese heraldic coat of arms known as the *Balzana.* He is labeled with the initials "CSCV" surrounding his head like a halo, likely an abbreviation of the civic motto "Comune Senarum, Civitas Virginum." To this figure's left are seated the virtues of *Magnanimity*, *Temperance*, and *Justice*, recognizable by their attributes as well as the *tituli* that appear above their heads, while to his right are shown the virtues of *Peace*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*. Floating above are the theological virtues of *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Hope*. At the figure's feet lay the Sienese *She-Wolf*, a zoomorphic embodiment of the commune. To the right of the *She-Wolf* are a gathering of heavily armed soldiers standing watch over a group of hooded and bound prisoners.

On the opposite side of the mural appears another enthroned and crowned personification of *Justice*. The figure of *Wisdom* hovers above, balancing the scales of *Justice* who uses her attribute to administer rewards and punishments to the innocent and guilty. Two strands of rope lead from each of the discs of the scales downward to the left hand of another seated figure. Held in this individual's right hand is a carpenter's plane inscribed with a *titulus* identifying her as *Concordia* (Fig. 241). Chiara Frugoni claimed that the presence of this tool signified "a great

respect for manual labour."[678] Patrick Boucheron dismissively rejected this interpretation as "weak," preferring instead the reading of Quentin Skinner who argued that the plane represented the Ciceronian civic ideal of *aequitas*.[679] As a tool for smoothing over rough surfaces, the plane could create equity by eliminating social differences. Indeed, as Boucheron notes this ideal seems to be visualized within Lorenzetti's mural where the group of citizens located next to the figure of *Concord* are all of equal size, as though they have been "planed." Unlike Boucheron, however, I do not see the interpretations of Skinner and Frugoni as mutually exclusive. The common thread between both of their accounts is that the state in the form of the gathered citizenry, the *civitas*, is conceived of as something that might be crafted and shaped by artisanal means.

Taking the two strands of rope from the scales of *Justice*, *Concord* braids them together before handing the intertwined cord over to the first of a group of gathered citizens. This cord weaves its way through the citizenry, each individual taking hold of it before it rises upwards to end in the right hand of the *Ben Comune*. Pulling the cord tight, the figures become firmly packed into a neat and orderly unit comprised of alternating blues, reds, yellows, and violets. Much more than a visual and textual pun, the citizenry being brought together "con corda," the *figura* of the cord is woven throughout the allegorical paintings and their associated inscriptions

[678] "Che l'attributo sia una pialla può essere segno anche di gran rispetto per il lavoro manuale…" Chiara Frugoni, *Una Lontana Città: sentimenti e immagini nel Medioevo.* Turin: Einaudi, 1983, 146.
[679] "L'explication de Chiara Frugoni, qui y voit la marque 'd'une grand respect pour le travail manuel,' est faible." See Boucheron, ""Tournez Les Yeux Pour Admirer, Vous Qui Exercez Le Pouvoir, Celle Qui Est Peinte ici,"" 1168. For Quentin Skinner's interpretation of the plane of Concord see Quentin Skinner, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Buon Governo Frescoes: Two Old Questions, Two New Answers." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (1999), 5.

to become a key pictorial element.[680] The inscription located below the mural provides further evidence of its significance:

> This holy virtue [Justice], wherever she rules, induces to unity the many souls. And they, having gathered together for such a purpose, make the Common Good their Lord. And he, in order to govern his state, elects never to turn his eyes from the resplendent faces of the virtues seated around him. For this reason tributes and lordships of lands are given to him by triumph, for this reason there is no war and every civic effect follows—useful, necessary, and pleasurable.[681]

While it is never explicitly named, the opening passage of this ekphrasis follows precisely the progress of the cord as it leads from the scales of *Justice* through the hands of the citizenry to end at the figure of the *Ben Comune*. Elsewhere in the mural another form of binding is used to illustrate one of the "necessary" civic effects of a just society. At the far right ropes are used to shackle the enemies of the state to one another.

Cordage also plays a significant role in the other allegorical program in the room, that of the *Court of Tyranny* on the portion of the west wall immediately adjacent to the mural of *Buon Governo* (Fig. 242). The enormous figure of *Tyranny* is enthroned, her terrifying and monstrous aspect of pale skin, crossed eyes, and protruding tusks and horns revealing a corrupted moral state. She is surrounded on all sides by personifications of the *Vices*. To the right is *Furor*, *Division*, and *War*, while to the left is *Cruelty*, *Treason*, and *Fraud*. Floating above are *Avarice*,

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[680] Chiara Frugoni, Ronald Musto, and Patrick Boucheron have all remarked upon this pun. See Frugoni, *Una Lontana Città*, 147; Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 107; and Patrick Boucheron, "Concord with its Cords," in Andrew Brown trans. *The Power of Images: Siena, 1338*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018, 80 – 81.

[681] The inscription reads as follows: "Questa santa virtù, ladove regge, induce adunita lianimi molti, equesti, accio ricolti, un ben comun perlor signor sifanno. Loqual, p(er) governor suo stato elegge dino(n)tener giam(m)a gliochi rivolti dalo splendor devolti dele virtu chetorno allui sistanno. P(er) questo contriunfo allui sidanno censi tribute esignorie diterre, per questo sença guerre, seguita poi ogni civile effetto, utile, necessario, e di diletto." The translation is mine.

Pride, and *Vainglory*. Thus the program presents itself as a sort of perverted mirror image of the court of the *Ben Comune*.

Laying upon the ground below *Tyranny* is the somber figure of *Justice* (Fig. 243). No longer wearing a crown, she is bound by a rope held like a leash by an anonymous figure dressed in blue. The inscription below this mural draws our attention to the somber captive:

> Wherever justice is bound, nobody can ever be in accord with the common good, nor pull the cord straight; thus tyranny should prevail. She, in order to fulfill her iniquity, neither wills nor acts in discord with the gross nature of the vices who are here conjoined with her. She chases away those who are prepared to do good, and calls to her those with evil intentions. She always protects the abuser, the robber, and those who hate peace, so that her every land is waste.[682]

Here a witty form of poetic word play between "sacorda [accorda]," "corda," and "discorda" creates a thread that links these allegorical images to those found on the north wall.[683] For the reference to pulling "the cord straight" (tira adritta corda) invites the beholder to shift their gaze over to the adjacent images, where the "cord" of civic concordance is pulled straight by the citizenry.

As Patrick Boucheron has noted, the phrase "a dritta corda" had a very precise meaning in the civic records documenting communal building practices in Siena.[684] Beginning in the late thirteenth century statutes of the office of the *viari,* administrators charged with the task of caring for the maintenance of the streets of the city and *contado*, demonstrate an interest in strictly

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[682] "Ladove sta legata la iustitia nessuno albe(n) comune giamay sacorda, ne tira adritta corda; p(er)o convie(n) che tirannia sormonti. La qual p(er) adempir la sua nequitia, nullo voler ne op(er)ar discorda dalla natura lorda de vitii che co(n) lei son qui co(n)gionti. Questa caccia color calben son pronti e chiama ase ciascun camale i(n) tende; questa sempre difende chi sforça o robba o chi odiasse pace: unde ogniterra sua i(n) culta giace." The translation is mine.

[683] The wording of the inscription appears indebted to the *Paradiso*, where St. John interrogates Dante: "Per intelleto umano, e per autoritadi a lui concorde, de' tuoi amori a Dio guarda il sovrano. Ma dí ancora se tu senti altre corde tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone con quanti denti questo amor ti morde." See Dante, *Paradiso* XXVI 45 – 51, as cited in Frugoni, *Una Lontana Città*, 147 – 148.

[684] Boucheron, "Concord with its Cords,"81.

controlling the alignment of buildings along roadways.[685] In order to obtain a precise layout in which the facades of buildings would not encroach upon a roadway, a cord was placed at the corner of a building or a pillar and then stretched out to a second reference point. This measuring practice was referred to as "ad cordam," or "a dritta corda," or "ad filum," terms which were used in almost all documented cases of the rectification of city streets found in the archival sources.[686] Thus the physical fabric of the city was literally built "a dritta corda."

The inscription running beneath *Tyranny*, which claims that wherever justice is bound nobody can ever "pull the cord straight," establishes an implicit connection between civic virtue and the codes guiding proper building practice in Siena. The tautness of the urban fabric of the city, the almost uniform alignment of facades along a street achieved through the disciplined use of the tightly drawn cord, becomes an embodiment of lawfulness. Just as the systematized arrangement of the *urbs* was integral to the production of a just society, the citizenry (*civitas*) could be formed into a neat and orderly arrangement "a dritta corda." And just as any fabric can be destroyed by loosening its strands, so too can the state be unmade. This form of unravelling is evident in the *Court of Tyranny*. With tousled hair the bound figure of *Justice* directs her mournful gaze downwards towards the torn ropes of her scales, their winding, loosened forms echoed by the limp loops dangling from the off-balance yoke held by the figure of *Pride* above. These sinuous shapes stand in stark contrast to the rigid, perfectly straight lines of the taut ropes

[685] Duccio Balesracci and Gabriella Piccini, *Siena nel Trecento: assetto urbano e struttura edilizia*. Siena: Clusf, 1977, 46.
[686] An example of this practice was the rectification of the via da porta San Lorenzo at the Piazza degli Umiliati: "la corda al canto de la chiesa degli Umiliati, la quale è dietro a la chiesa allato a la via, et vada a dritta corda al canto de la casa de la terra, la quale è rincontrata al palazo el quale fue di missere Alessandro Salimbeni." Statuto dei Viari 1, c. 33 v, as cited in Balestracci and Piccini, *Siena nel Trecento*, 46, n. 21.

that hold the balanced scales of *Justice* in the adjacent mural.[687] Tyranny is thus characterized through fragmented and unsteady forms; it is in every sense a state of unmaking.

By the 1450s, the fabric of the coalitional regime that had governed Siena since 1404 was starting to fray. Rips which had long existed at the seams of the coalition were increasingly openly exposed. The first major political crisis was the failed coup attempt in May of 1456 led by Antonio Petrucci.[688] Several of the conspirators were executed and the Petrucci clan was sent into exile. The survival of the government would once again be threatened in 1458 when the newly elected Pope Pius II began to place pressure on the Sienese government to readmit the nobility to government offices, a privilege from which they had been banned since the formation of the coalitional regime in 1404. Their proposed readmission threatened to upset the relative stability of the status quo. Over the next two decades the political stability of the regime was under almost constant strain. Various *monti* were readmitted and banned from government, each new crisis weakening the legitimacy of the popular government. The situation came to a head on 21 July 1487, when Pandolfo Petrucci and a group of exiles scaled Siena's walls and seized control of the city.[689]

Following this event Pandolfo gradually gained dominant control over the city-state's affairs. In many ways we can think of his ascendency during this period as a continuation of a process of centralization that had already been underway for some time. First to be taken over were the main magistracies of the city. Due to the earlier appropriations of the cathedral workshop and the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala by the communal government, Pandolfo

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[687] Frugoni had similarly noted that the off-balance and loosened thongs of the yoke of *Pride* are meant to provide an antithesis to the perfectly balanced position of the scales of *Justice*. See Frugoni, *Una Lontana Città*, 148 – 149.
[688] These destabilizing events are discussed in more detail in chapter 2 of this dissertation.
[689] For more on the ascent of Pandolfo Petrucci see Christine Shaw, *L'ascesa al Potere di Pandolfo Petrucci il Magnifico, Signore di Siena (1487 – 1498).* Siena: Il Leccio, 2001.

was able to gain direct control of two key institutions which regularly employed artists.[690] He was therefore put in a position to dictate all public patronage decisions and urban planning, although he shrewdly took care to involve others in the official processes.[691]

Pandolfo clearly understood the power of works of art in state formation and he immediately set about dismantling the trappings of popular government. Under the Petrucci regime foreign artists were brought to the city in ever increasing numbers, displacing local artists in the process.[692] The Piccolomini family hired the Umbrian painters Pintoricchio and Raphael as well as the youthful Florentine Michelangelo to work on projects in the Duomo. The Spannocchi brought the Ghirlandaio workshop from Florence and the Piemontese-born Sodoma to work on their commissions. Luca Signorelli collaborated with Francesco di Giorgio to decorate the chapel of Agostino Bichi, a key ally of Pandolfo Petrucci, in the church of Sant'Agostino. The Chigi also brought in Perugino, while Pandolfo himself hired Signorelli, Pintoricchio, and Girolamo Genga to decorate his palace.

The works of art produced by foreign artists formed a key component of Pandolfo's program to dismantle the Sienese Trecento tradition and its associations with Siena's republican past. Another facet of this policy was the bold decision to remove Duccio's *Maestà* from the high altar of the cathedral in 1506.[693] The altarpiece had occupied this privileged position for almost two hundred years and its removal was an overtly political act, part of a conscious

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[690] Ever since the regime of the *Nove* the Opera del Duomo fell under communal jurisdiction and was funded by the state, with alterations to the fabric of the cathedral and its interior embellishment generally funded by civic expenses. See Maginnis, *The World of the Early Sienese Painter*, 24. The hospital of Santa Maria della Scala was taken over by the communal government in the early 1430s. For more on its annexation see the second chapter of this dissertation.

[691] For more on these events see Philippa Jackson, "The Patronage of Pandolfo the Magnificent," in Syson et al eds., *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*, 62.

[692] On the importation of these artists see Syson, "Stylistic Choices," 57.

[693] For more on the political nature of this act see Wegner, "The Rise of Saint Catherine of Siena as an Intercessor for the Sienese," 188 – 189; and Syson, "Stylistic Choices," 57 – 58.

strategy to erase references to the Virgin as patron of the city due to her associations with the governmental structures of Siena's medieval past.[694] This attempt at an artistic form of *damnatio memoriae* was further solidified by the decision to replace the *Maestà* with the bronze ciborium topped by a figure of the *Risen Christ*, an assemblage originally cast by Vecchietta for the hospital church of Santa Maria della Scala in 1472. Bernardino of Siena's earlier promotion of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus had already initiated a shift from a primarily Marian form of civic religion towards a Christocentric devotional focus, and the interventions in the cathedral extended this process to Siena's spiritual heart.

Combined with Pandolfo's political reforms these cultural practices signaled nothing less than a conscious remaking of the Sienese state. No longer a popular government, participation in the regime was strictly limited to the city's leading citizens. Occupying a permanent and commanding position on what had effectively become Siena's primary governing magistracy in the Sala di Balìa, one can only wonder at what Pandolfo thought of those images painted a long time ago and only a short distance away on the west wall of the Sala della Pace.[695]

[694] Wegner, "The Rise of Saint Catherine of Siena as an Intercessor for the Sienese," 188.
[695] This room was constructed during the renovations embarked upon by the coalitional republican government in the early fifteenth century. Initially called the Saletta Nuova, it was renamed the Sala di Balìa after the creation of the magistracy of the Balìa in 1455. See Norman, *Painting in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena, 1260-1555*, 155. For more on Pandolfo's dominance of the Balìa, see Syson, "Stylistic Choices," 56.

Figures

Fig. 1, Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 2, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Peace in the City and Countryside*, 1338 – 40. East wall of the Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

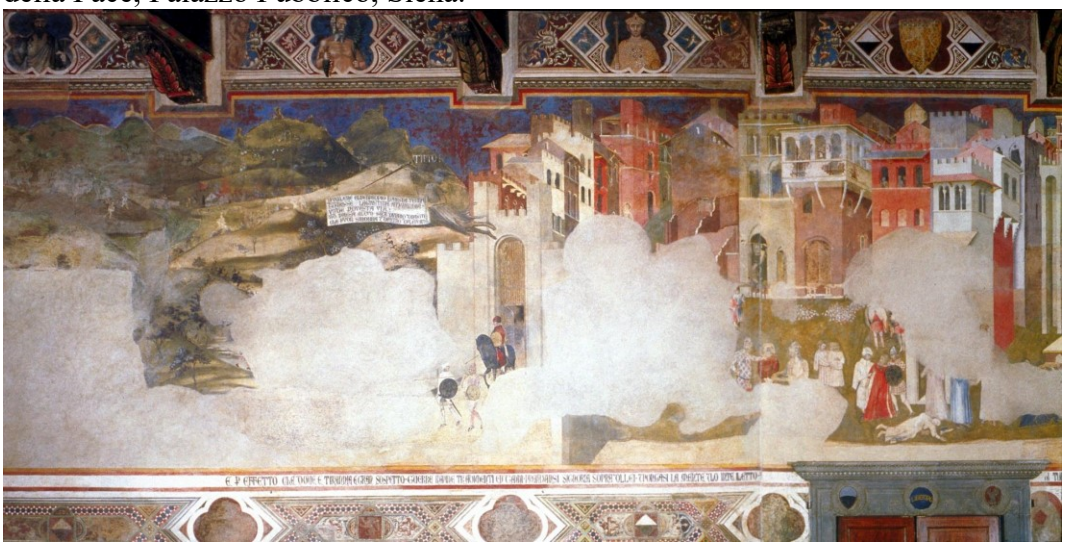

Fig. 3, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *War in the City and Countryside*, 1338 – 40. West wall of the Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 4, Pavement, 1333 – 49. Piazza del Campo, Siena.

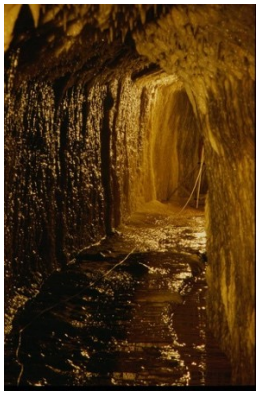

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Fig. 6, *Fonte Branda*, 13th century. Siena.

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Fig. 8, *Fonte di Follonica*, 13th century. Siena.

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Fig. 12, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Pax*, 1338 – 40. North wall of the Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

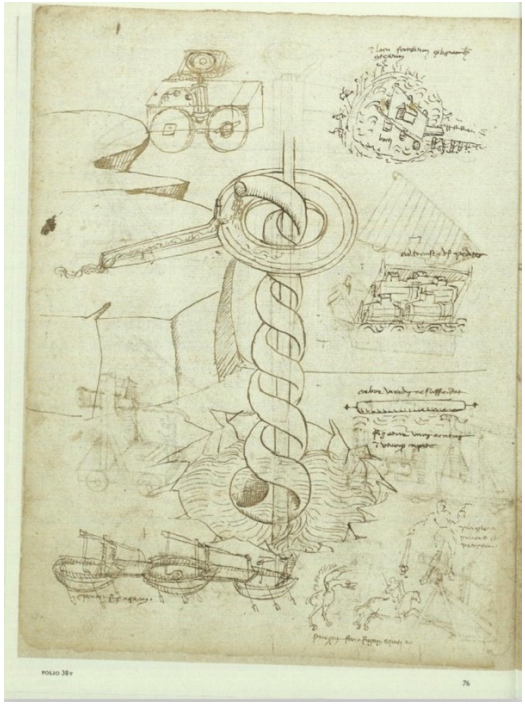

Fig. 13, Il Taccola, "Archimedean Screw," *MS Latinus Monacensis 197*, II, Fol. 38v, 1419 – 49. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

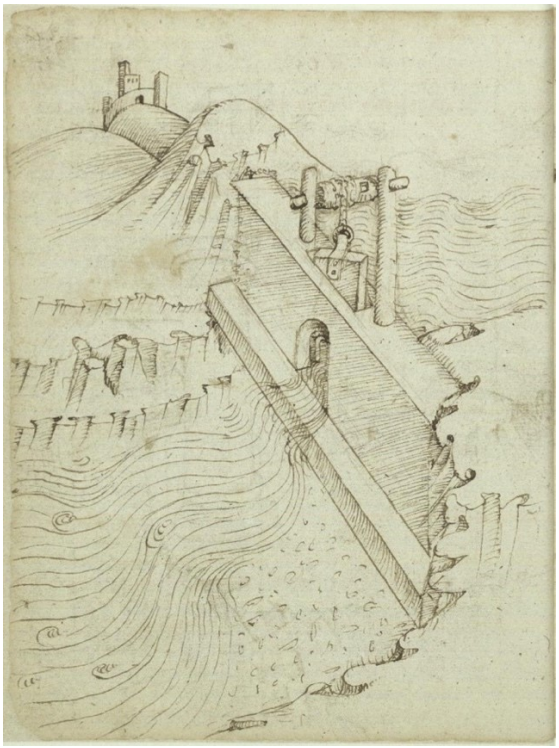

Fig. 14, Il Taccola, "Lock," *MS Latinus Monacensis 197*, II, fol. 114v, 1419 – 49. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

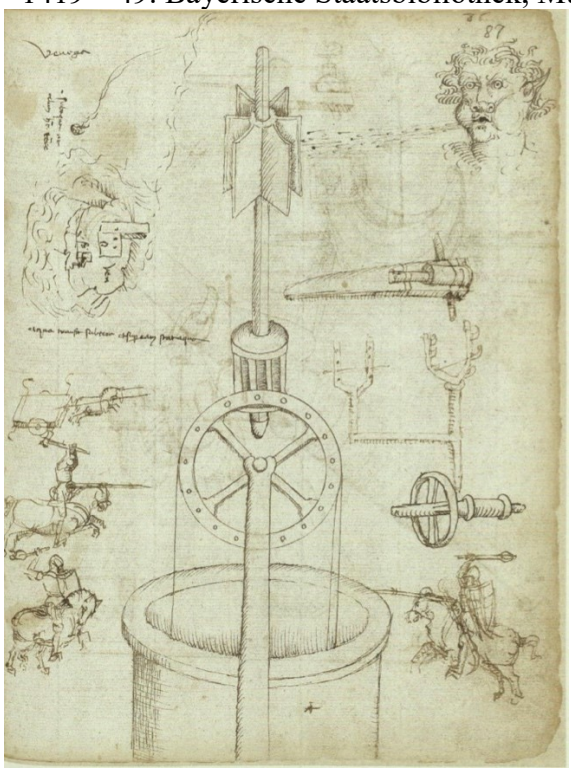

Fig. 15, Il Taccola, "Wind-Operated Draw Well," *MS Latinus Monacensis 197*, II, fol. 87r, 1419 – 49. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Fig. 16, Il Taccola, “Soldier on aHorse,” *MS Latinus Monacensis 197*, II, fol. 90v, 1419 – 49. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

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Fig. 19, Jacopo della Quercia, *Preparatory Drawing for Fonte Gaia*, ca. 1409. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Fig. 20, Tito Sarrocchi, *Free Copy of Fonte Gaia*, 1869. Siena.


Fig. 21, Installation of fragments of Jacopo della Quercia's Fonte Gaia, S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

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Fig. 25, Jacopo della Quercia, *Fortitude*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 26, Jacopo della Quercia, *Justice*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 27, Jacopo della Quercia, *Charity*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

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Fig. 29, Jacopo della Quercia, *Wisdom*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 30, Jacopo della Quercia, *Creation of Adam*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 31, Jacopo della Quercia, *Temperence*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 32, Jacopo della Quercia, *Faith*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 33, Jacopo della Quercia, *Expulsion from Paradise*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 34, Vincenzo Rustici, *Caccie di Tori*, ca. 1585. Museo San Donato, Siena.

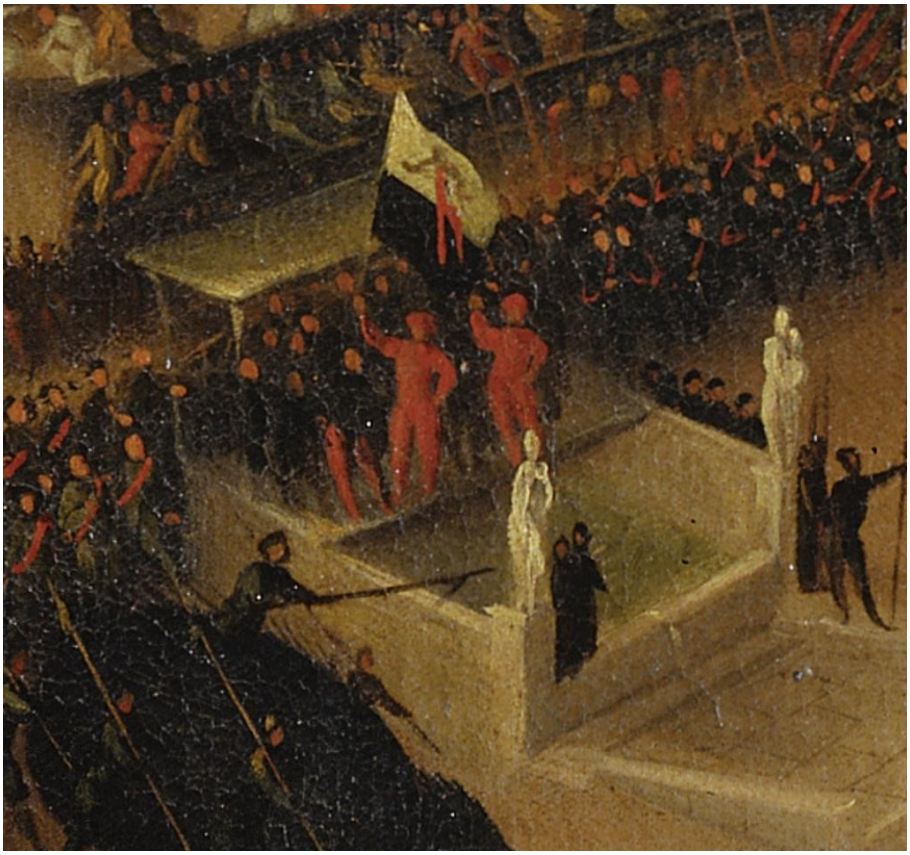

Fig. 35, Vincenzo Rustici, Detail of Fig. 34.

Fig. 36, Jacopo della Quercia, *Rhea Silvia*, 1408 – 19. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

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Fig. 43, Venus Pudica, ca. 1st century BCE. Museo Nazionale, Rome.

Fig. 44, Jacopo della Quercia, detail detail of Fig. 36.

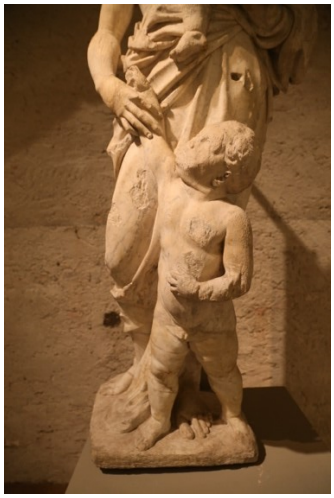

Fig. 45, Jacopo della Quercia, detail of Fig. 36.

Fig. 46, Jacopo della Quercia, detail of Fig. 37.

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Fig. 48, Jacopo della Quercia, detail of Fig. 36.

Fig. 49, Cosmè Tura, *Calliope*, 1440s. National Gallery, London.

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Fig. 54, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, "Lupa (She-Wolf)," 1338 – 40. North wall of the Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 55, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna del Latte, ca. 1325. Museo Diocesano, Siena.

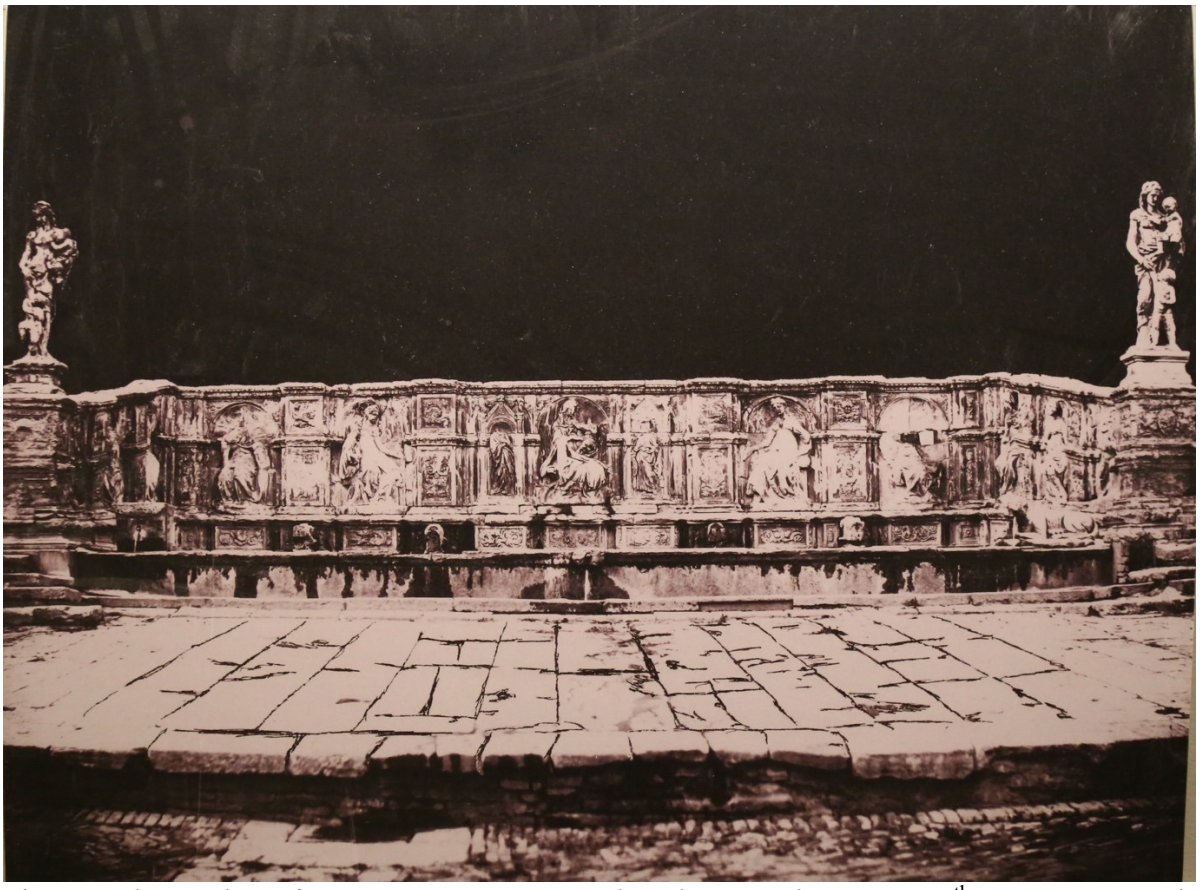

Fig. 56, *Photo taken of Fonte Gaia prior to its demolition in the 1860s*, 19th century. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.

Fig. 57, Taddeo di Bartolo, *Uomini Famosi*, Antechapel, 1413 – 14. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.


Fig. 58, Projecting *ballatoio*, no date, Siena.

Fig. 59, Taddeo di Bartolo, "Death of the Virgin," *Life of the Virgin Cycle*, ca. 1406. Cappella de' Signoria, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 60, Taddeo di Bartolo, *St. Christopher*, ca. 1408. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 61, Anonymous, *Worthies*, ca. 1419 – 24. Sala Baronale, Castello della Manta, Saluzzo.

Fig. 62, Anonymous, *The Worthies*, ca. 1419 – 24. Sala Baronale, Castello della Manta, Saluzzo.

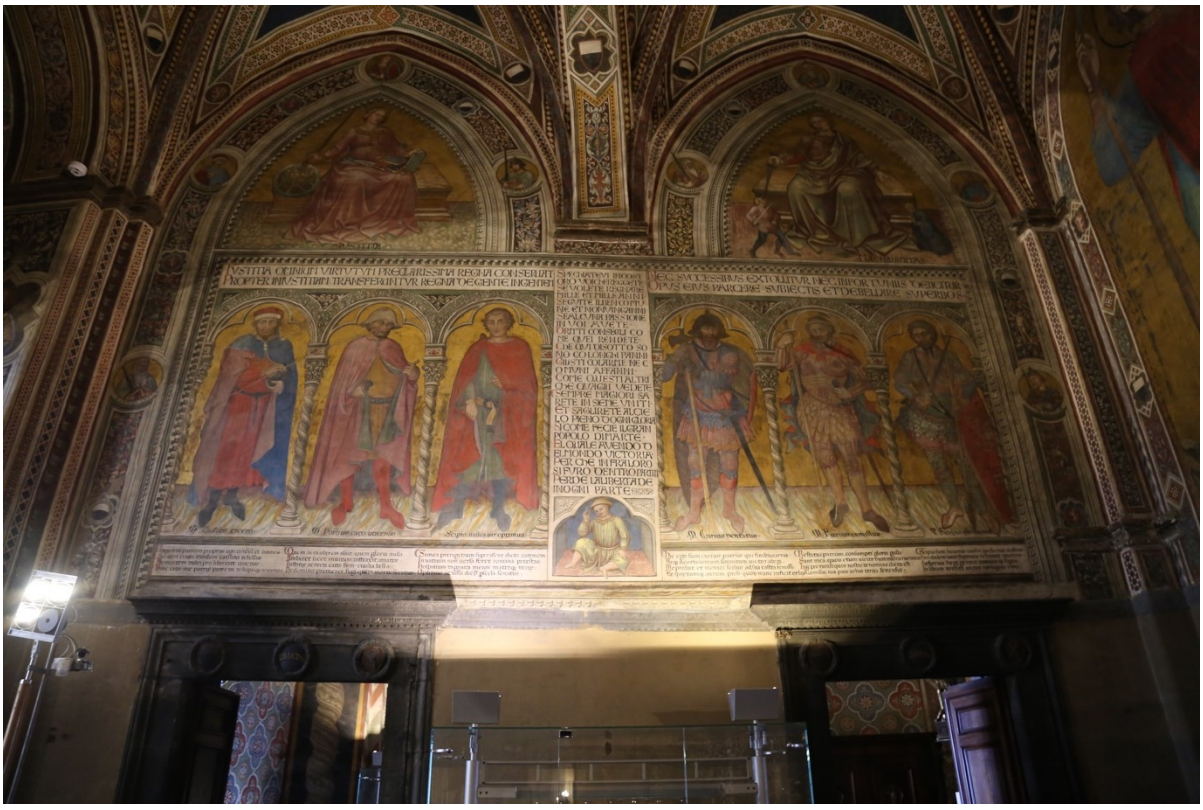

Fig. 63, Taddeo di Bartolo, *Justice* (upper left), *Magnanimity* (upper right) and *Uomini Famosi* (below), 1413 – 14. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 64, Taddeo di Bartolo, from left *M. Curius Dentatus, M. Furius Camillus*, and *P. Scipio Africanus Major,* 1413 – 14. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 65, Taddeo di Bartolo, from left *Cicero, M. Porcius Cato*, and *P. Scipio Nasica*, 1413 – 14. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 66, Taddeo di Bartolo, detail of Fig. 2.1 showing Child at base of central inscription, 1413 – 14. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 67, Taddeo di Bartolo, *Judas Maccabeus*, 1413 – 14. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

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Fig. 69, Anonymous, *Judas Maccabeus*, 1419 – 24. Sala Baronale, Castello della Manta, Saluzzo.

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Fig. 73, Taddeo di Bartolo, Map of Rome with Pagan Gods, 1413 – 14. Antechapel, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena


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Fig. 75, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Mars*, Frieze above *War in the City and Countryside*, 1338 – 40. Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Fig. 76, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Venus in the House of Taurus*, Frieze above *Peace in the City and Countryside*, 1338 – 40. Sala della Pace, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

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Fig. 78, Anonymous, *Bust of St. Ladislaus*, early 15th century. Cathedral of Gyõr, Hungary.

Fig. 79, Workshop of Gentile da Fabriano?, *Uomini Famosi*, ca. 1411. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno.

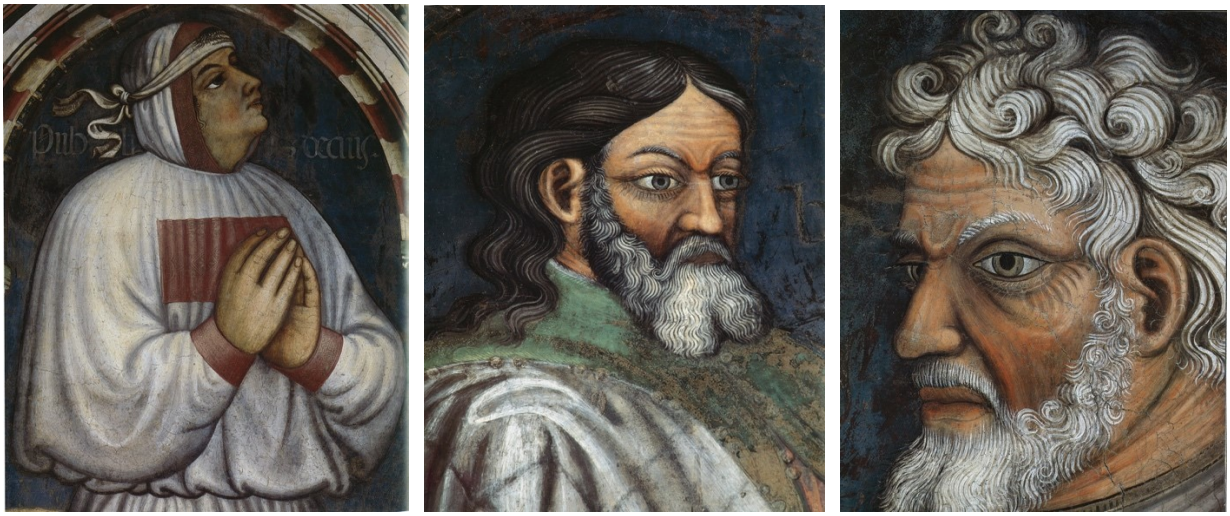

Fig. 80, Workshop of Gentile da Fabriano?, Details of *Publius Decius Mus*, *Gaius Fabricius Luscinus Monocularis* and *M. Curius Dentatus*, ca. 1411. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno.

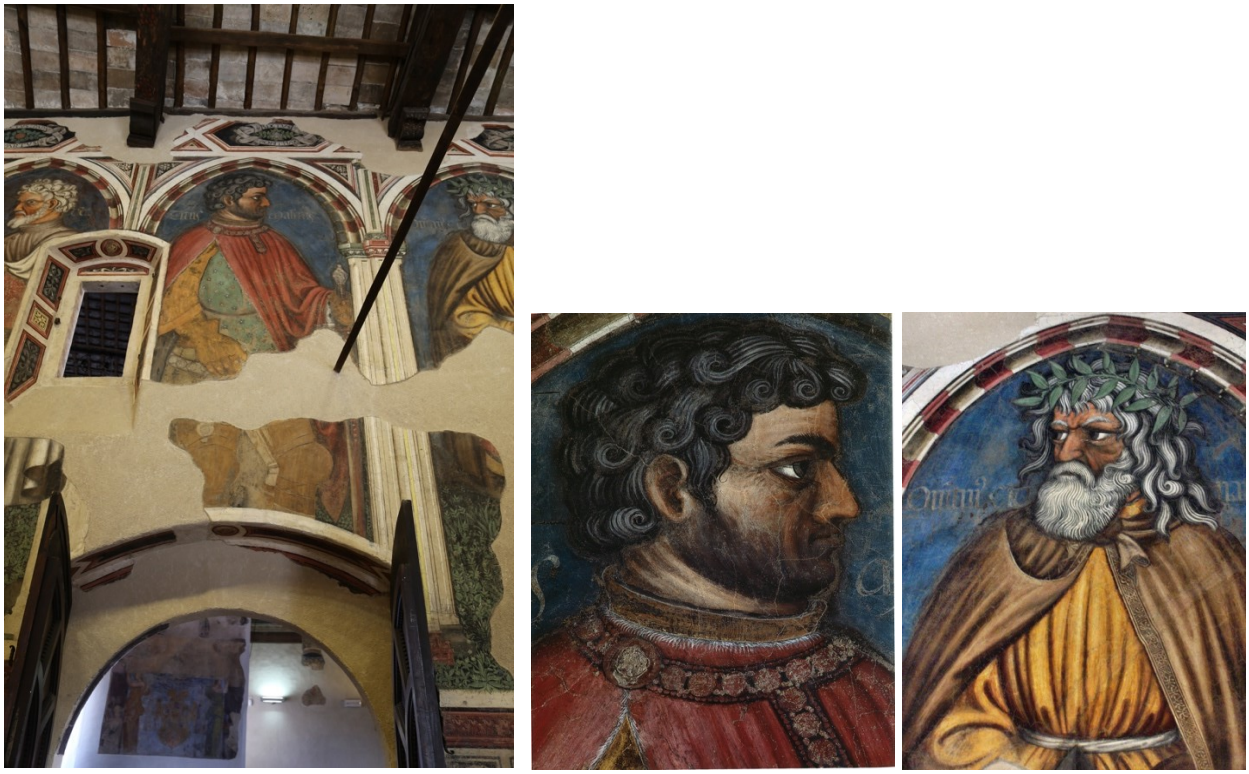

Fig. 81, Workshop of Gentile da Fabriano?, *Titus Manlius Torquatus* and *Cincinnatus* with details of faces, ca. 1411. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno.

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Fig. 84, Workshop of Gentile da Fabriano?, *Scipio Africanus* and *Gaius Mucius Scaevola* framing faux architectural scene, ca. 1411. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno.

Fig. 85, Workshop of Gentile da Fabriano?, figures on balconies (details of Fig. 84), ca. 1411. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno.

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Fig. 105, Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, *Isagogae breues, perlucidae ac uberrimae, in anatomiam humani corporis a communi medicorum academia usitatam*, Folio 6v, 1523. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.

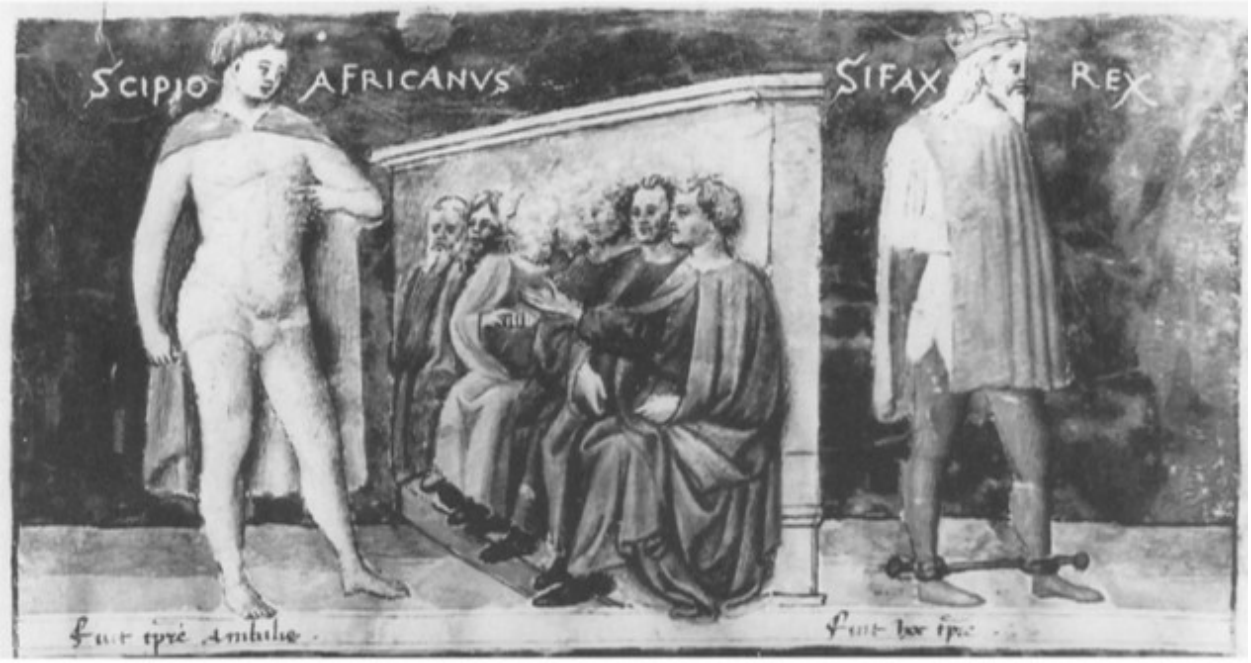
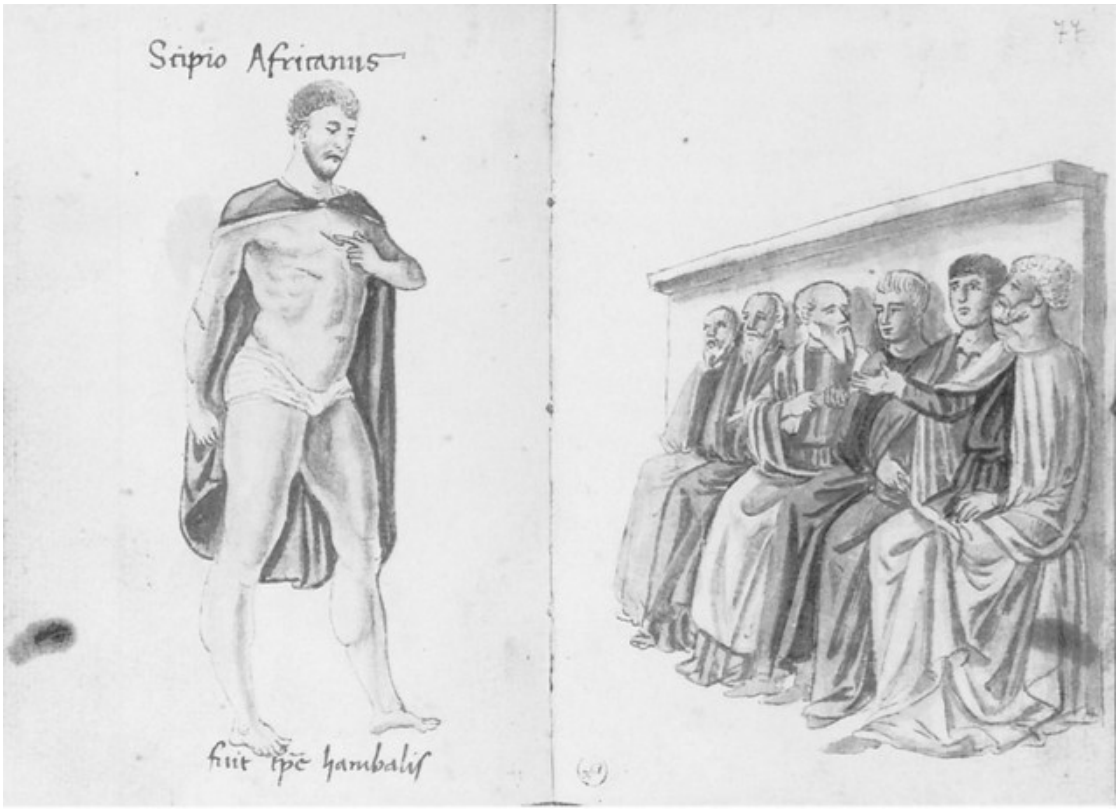


Fig. 106, Leonardo da Besozzo, *The Trial of Scipio*, Crespi Chronicle, fol. 13r, ca. 1436-42. Crespi Morbio Collection, Milan.



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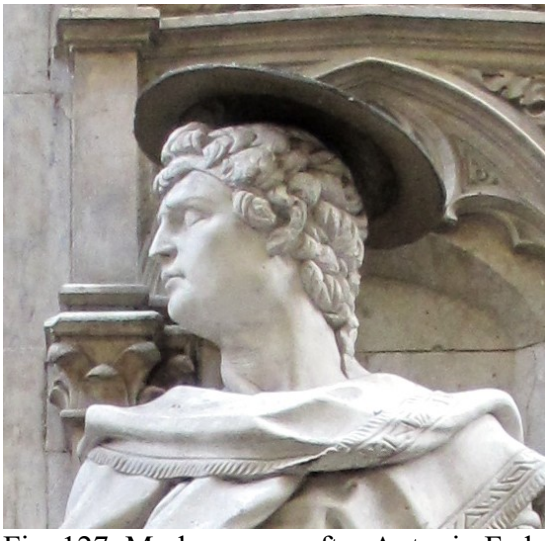

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Fig. 129, Antonio Federighi, *St. Savino* as seen from the Croce del Travaglio, 1457 – 61. Loggia della Mercanzia, Siena.

Fig. 130, Antonio Federighi, *St. Ansano* as seen from the Croce del Travaglio, 1457 – 61. Loggia della Mercanzia, Siena.

Fig. 131, Vecchietta, *St. Peter* as seen from the Croce del Travaglio, 1458 – 63. Loggia della Mercanzia, Siena.

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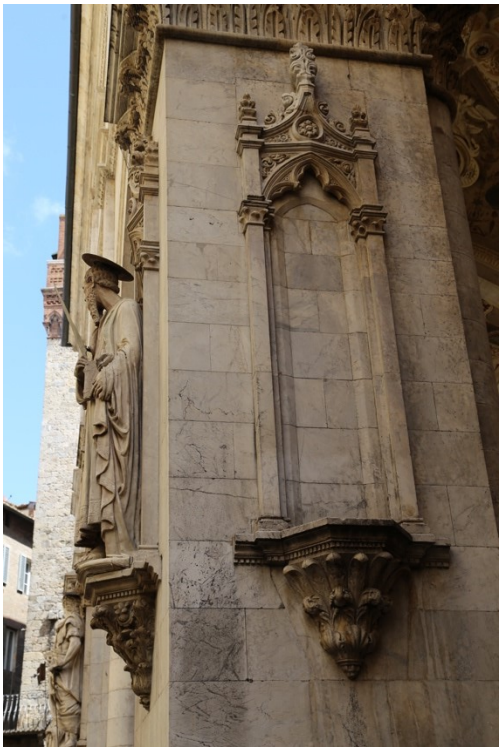

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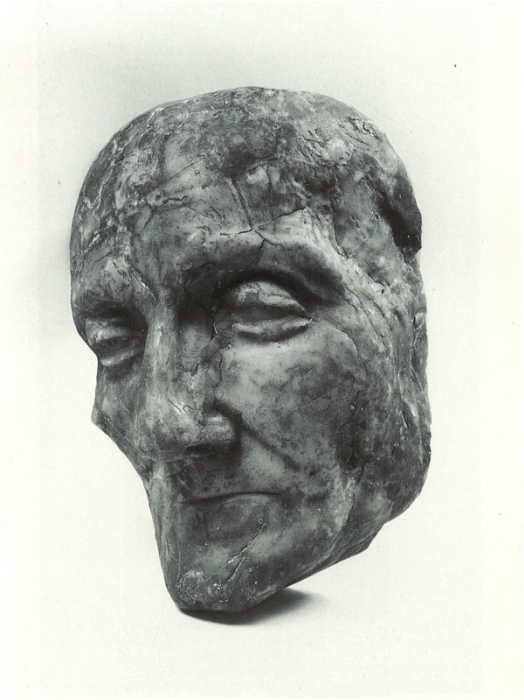

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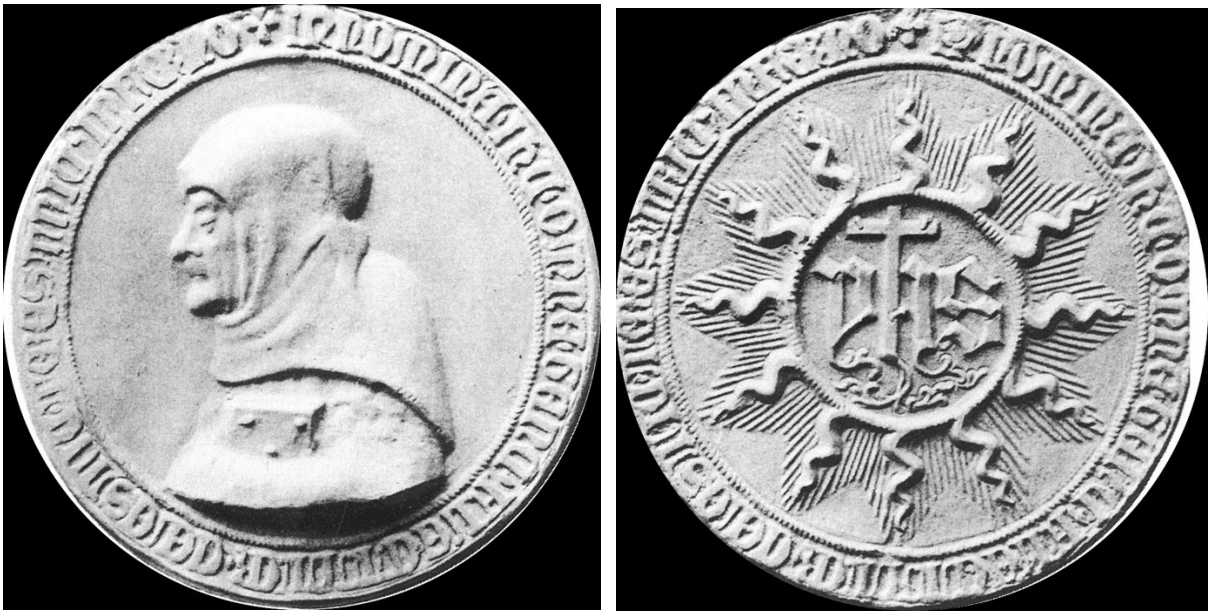

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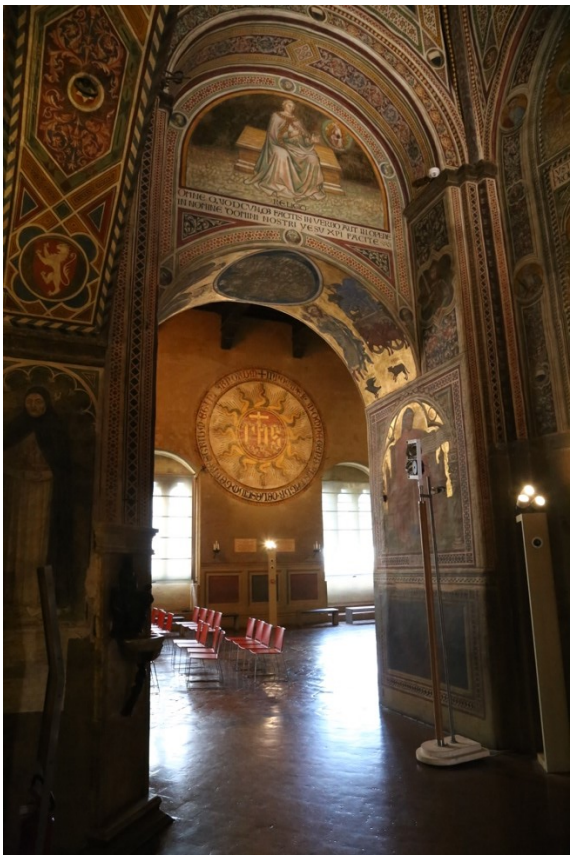

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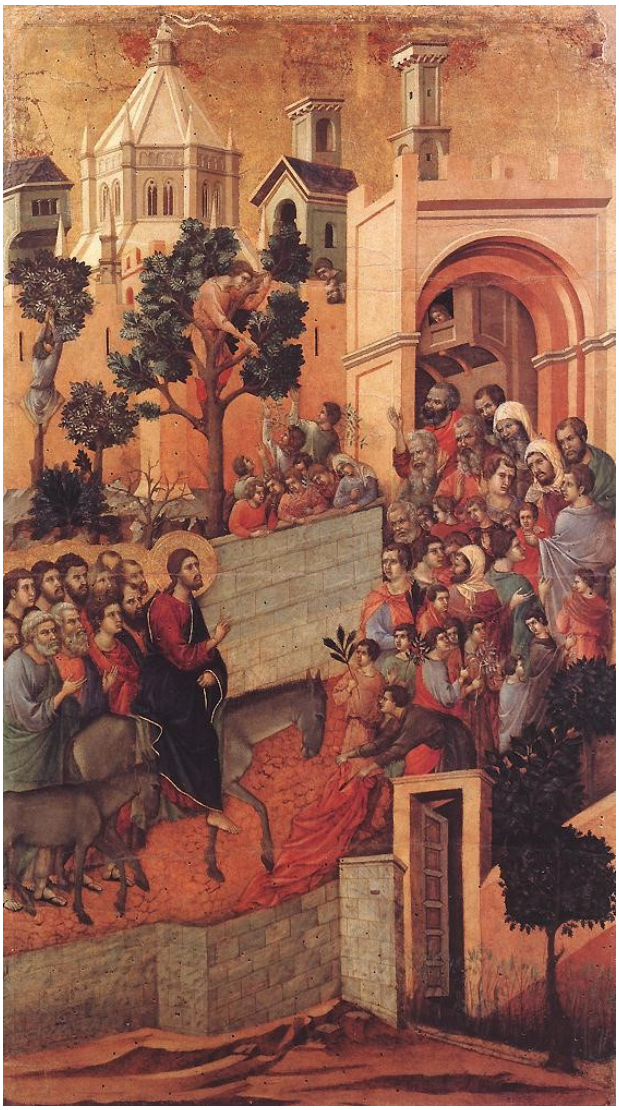

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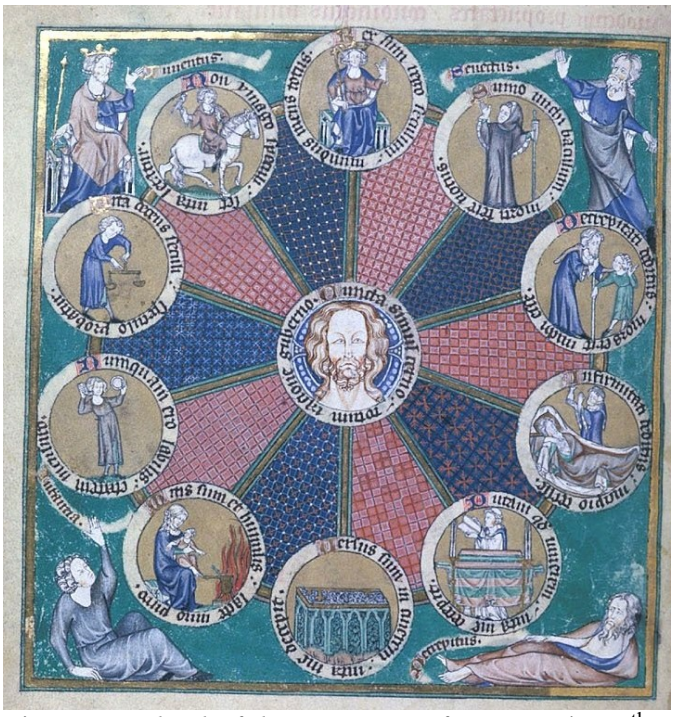

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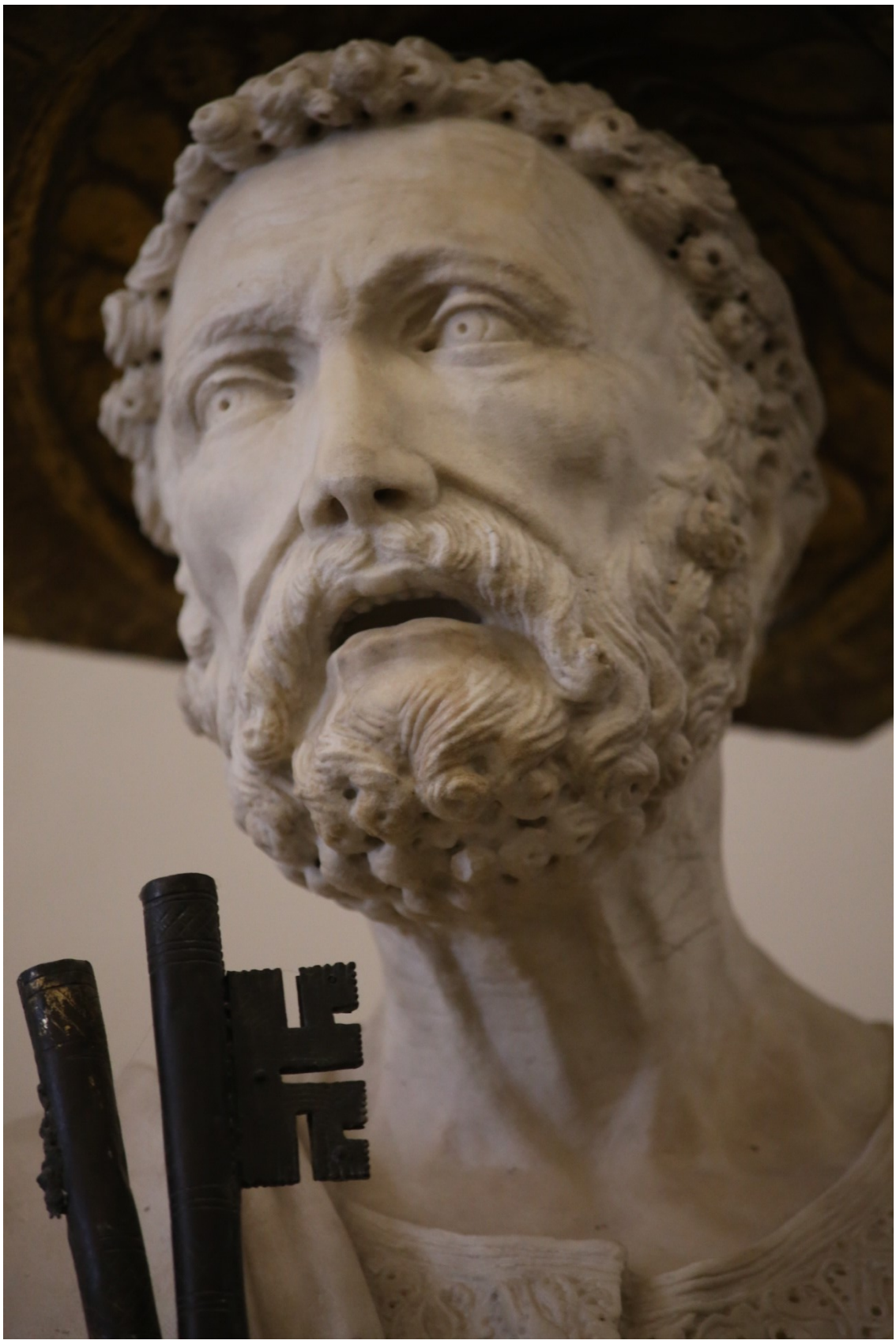

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Academic CV

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Education

2012 – 2019: PhD in the History of Art, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, United States of America

- Dissertation Title: 'Making Siena: Art, Civic Identity, and Urban Life in a Tuscan City, 1404-1487,' Academic Supervisor: Dr. Stephen J. Campbell
- Dissertation Defense Date: 19 April 2019

2009 - 2010: Master of Studies in the History of Art and Visual Culture, University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom

- Thesis Title: 'Holy Vision: the Religious Function of Illustration in a 14th Century Missal,' Academic Supervisor: Dr. Gervase Rosser

2005 - 2009: Bachelor of Arts, Art History with a minor in Philosophy, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada

- Graduated with Highest Honours

Selected Academic Awards and Scholarships

- Alexander Grass Humanities Institute Graduate Research Fellowship (Spring 2019)
- Dean's Teaching Fellowship (Fall 2018)
- Singleton Fellowship (2017-18)
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Doctoral Award (2016-17)
- Delaware Valley Medieval Association Graduate Student Essay Prize (2015)
- Owen Scholars Fellowship Award (2012-2015)
- Gilman Fellowship (2012-2016)
- Carleton University Senate Medal for Outstanding Academic Achievement (2009)
- Jack Barwick and Douglas Duncan Memorial Scholarship for Art History (2008)
- Davidson Dunton Scholarship (2007)
- Carleton University Deans Honour List (2006, 2007, 2008)

Research Interests

- Urbanization and public art in late medieval and early modern Italy
- The body and aging
- Sainthood and image theory
- Art, biopolitics, and the environment
- Architecture and its representation

Publications

'"Like Wax Before a Fire": Sainthood and Image Theory in Some Early Portraits of Bernardino of Siena.' *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 71 – 72 (forthcoming, fall 2019).

'Spaces Made Strange: Architectural Oddity as Devotional Catalyst in the Passion Sequence of Duccio's Maestà.' *Artibus et Historiae*, 66 (XXXIII), 2012, 9 – 28.

'Carrying the Torch: Optimistic Themes in the Classical Vocabulary of the Manitoba Legislative Building.' *Manitoba History* 64, Fall 2010, 26-30.

Conference Presentations

Renaissance Society of America
March 17-19, 2019, Toronto, Ontario, Canada
Paper Title: 'The Practice of Architectural Dissemblance in Sienese Painting'

Philadelphia Graduate Symposium
April 8-9, 2016, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Pennsylvania
Paper Title: 'Like Wax Before a Fire: Sainthood and Image Theory in Some Early Portraits of Bernardino of Siena'

College Art Association Annual Conference
February 3–6, 2016, Washington, D.C.
Paper Title: 'Volcanoes, Cathedrals and Chapels: Medieval Artistic Responses to the Landscape of Le-Puy-en-Velay'
Co-authors: Dr. Danielle Joyner, SMU and Juliette Calvarin, PhD Candidate, Harvard University

Delaware Valley Medieval Association, 'Mediterranean Connections' Spring Meeting
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Paper Title: 'Like Wax Before a Fire: Sainthood and Image Theory in Some Early Portraits of Bernardino of Siena'
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Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 'Arte e Storia, Riforma e Immagini nell'Italia'
December 11-13, 2014, Il Palazzone, Cortona
Paper Title: 'Most Esteemed by God: Art, Identity, and Religious Politics at L'Aquila'

The Universities Art Association of Canada (UAAC) Annual Conference,
October 27-29, 2011, National Gallery of Canada
Paper Title: 'Spaces Made Strange: Some New Readings for the Passion Sequence of Duccio's Maestà'

Teaching Experience

Dean's Teaching Fellowship: Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art Course taught: Art, Architecture, and Urban Life in Renaissance Italy
September 2018 – December 2018

Teaching Assistant: Johns Hopkins University, Department of the History of Art
Fall 2013 – Spring 2016

Other Academic Work Experience

Research Assistant: Dr. Ming Tiampo, Art History Department, Carleton University
Fall 2007 - Winter 2008

- Assisted in organizing the conference "Complicated Entanglements – Rethinking Pluralism in the 21st Century", April 4 – 6, 2008

Editorial Assistant: *Art Journal*, quarterly publication by the College Art Association
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Other Professional Experience

Representative of Canada: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference on 'Science, Technology and Society,' March 8, 2010, Houses of Parliament, Westminster, London, United Kingdom

Opinion and Editorial Editor: Charlatan Newspaper, 2007
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Languages

English: native language
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